

STRIKE!

Workers' Autonomy For Social Revolution

We Can't Pay! We Won't Pay!

By Lazarus Jones

Debt in North America is all-pervasive. A recent Canadian study found that even the working poor, with incomes as low as \$3,000 per year, commonly had debts in excess of \$12,000 or more than four times their annual income. This study also found that these debts were, by and large, not incurred in chasing after consumer goods but were most often the result of borrowing to cover the costs of basic necessities like food and rent.

As the economic pinch tightens this debt burden becomes more and more intolerable as the staggering rise in personal bankruptcies shows. The debt system exacts a deadly toll of broken homes, shattered personal relationships, massive feelings of inadequacy and even suicide. But, the tide of evictions, mortgage foreclosures, re-possession and the garnishing of wages continues to rise.

Faced with this economic squeeze it is a continuing source of wonder that approximately 85% of all debtors repay their loans under the terms of the original agreement. Of the remaining number almost 10% respond to very low level harassment such as the first letter from a collection agency. The remaining 5% however, and especially the hard-core 2% of debtors who are commonly written off

as bad debts, wage a silent and isolated battle against the demands of capital.

The "official view" of these hard-core "deadbeats" asserts that there is a very low level of resistance among debtors. They are characterized as being apathetic and "morally defeated" seeking to adapt rather than to resist. Occasionally they may refuse to pay or fight back to break the tension before slipping back into apathy. Obviously it is in the interests of creditors and collection agencies to promulgate and maintain these stereotypes but how close are they to the truth?

Happily, as a presentation to the recent Blue Collar Conference in Hamilton showed, these stereotypes bear little resemblance to reality. The report revealed that active resistance is much more pronounced than apathy. This active resistance is divided into three basic although intermingled types: 1) Refusal to pay; 2) Striking back; and 3) Confrontation. Debtors habitually attempted to make life more bearable by evasion and resistance to collection agencies attempts to stereotype them as lazy, feckless and useless. The responses varied from detached amusement to bitter denial.

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On The Inside

Brenda Free!

A massive international protest has secured Brenda Earl Christie's release from a West German prison. In two articles we look at the case and its background. Page 3.

Prison Challenge

A former anti-prison activist challenges the movement to re-examine its basic principles. Page 4.

Anarchist Women

We review a new book on the early anarchist-feminist movement and find some old problems. Page 8.

In Struggle! Dissected

In part two of On Class and Culture B. Newbold examines the Leninist organization In Struggle! as a specific example of a general form of organization—the political party. Page 10.

Rock Around The Block

Will Romania succumb to the Polish "infection"? Brian Amesley examines the potential for revolution in Romania. Page 13.

Polish bureaucrats gather: Is The Party Over?

By Brian Amesley

The upcoming congress of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) is going to mark a critical turning in the course of events in Poland. The gathering can be expected to heighten the danger of a Soviet invasion no matter what its outcome proves to be.

The reason for this is to be seen in the emergence of a powerful reform movement at the base of the party. If the objectives of this new force are achieved the pro-Soviet character of the PUWP will be brought to a decisive end. This can be clearly seen by the types of demands its activists are putting forward.

These include the complete removal of all the staunchly pro-Soviet members of the party leadership. The demands further point towards a radical democratization of the PUWP making it a more "egalitarian" body. For instance demands have been raised to put ordinary workers in top leadership positions and to make all high party officials (shades of the "Cultural Revolution") spend part of each year working as manual labourers or ordinary office employees.

Thorough internal democracy would erode "democratic centralism" as the concentration of power in the hands of the central leadership would be severely weakened.

Indeed, consciously or not, the reform activists are in confrontation with norms which have been central tenets of the Bolshevik concept of the party ever since its initial formulation in Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*

Precedents Exist

Significantly, the direction undertaken by the movement is hardly a new one. It echoes the efforts to reform the Czech Communist Party during the Prague Spring. More importantly still it bears a striking resemblance to the Workers' Opposition current which clashed with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union back in 1921.

The Workers' Opposition led by Alexandra Kollontai similarly fought for extensive democratization of the Soviet party, the practice of more egalitarian norms, trade union autonomy and against the growing bureaucracy in the one party state. For confronting the leadership over these questions it came under bitter attack from Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and other powerful Bolsheviks. In the end the Workers' Opposition was effectively silenced by Lenin's resolution "On Party Unity" ending its right to exist in the party.

Whether the activists in the movement to reform the Polish

party are fully aware of these aspects historically defining their struggle is an open question. Irrespective, there can be no doubt as to just how dangerous they are in the eyes of the old men atop the Soviet Communist Party hierarchy.

The danger posed to the Soviet system is so acute because it exists within the larger context of the general situation in Poland. This is so because should the reform movement achieve any major degree of success the party will become an institution over which the USSR will have little or no control. The last line of defense for controlling things will have evaporated leaving the armies of the Warsaw Pact as the only option left.

But if the present leadership manages to defeat the reform movement this will increase the tension in Poland by further alienating the general population from the regime. The potential for more strike waves and other forms of protest will sharply rise.

A compromise solution satisfying both the leadership of the PUWP and the reform movement is hard to conceive. Even if one results it will be no guarantee of stability. The growing dissatisfaction on the part of Poland's "friends" as Kania's failure to restore order makes this clear. The USSR would rather

invade than accept a solution satisfactory to the reform movement.

Soviet Dilemma

For the Soviets the situation presents an almost hopeless dilemma. The best solution for them would be to have their staunchest allies in the PUWP wrest control of the leadership then proceed with naked repression against the wave of "counter-revolution". This is not possible without Warsaw Pact tanks.

Ominously, there have been indications that the Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party barely decided against an invasion in an internal vote last December. In the time since then it is hard to believe that the patience of the Soviet leadership has not worn very thin. More distressing still is the fact that the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia occurred on the eve of a Czech party congress where communism "with a human face" was about to be institutionalized.

Faced with this growing threat of Soviet intervention Poland's militant workers will have to show no signs of their being on the defensive. Their willingness to fight their oppressors has been and will continue to be the key to new victories and the strongest deterrent to the Soviet threat.



2. STRIKE!

Shortly before we went to press with NAA10 we received word that the Libertarian Workers Group had disaffiliated from the ACF (For details see Pg. 12). We were saddened but not surprised by this development and the day-to-day tasks of getting the paper ready for distribution tended to push it into the background. Very shortly afterwards, however, we learned that Other Vices and the Syndicalist Alliance had withdrawn their applications for affiliation and shortly after that Bread and Roses decided to disaffiliate.

The disaffiliated groups had been among the most active and consistent supporters of the newspaper and they had also been groups which had shared our general opinion of what was wrong with the ACF as a revolutionary organization. Given the fact that several other affiliates had only been passive members of the Federation for quite some time the departure of the disaffiliating groups represented a fundamental ideological shift within the ACF.

This ideological shift forced us to re-consider our own affiliation with ACF a question that was further complicated by the fact that we were the co-production groups for the NAA. We decided that political considerations must come first and the question of whether or not we, as autonomous groups, were still sufficient political agreement with the remaining ACF groups to continue our membership had to be dealt with before we discussed the fate of the newspaper. The

discussions which followed made it clear that no-one in either group was in favour of remaining within the ACF and both groups decided to disaffiliate.

The question then arose — what happens to the NAA? We decided that we had three options: 1) Cease publication immediately; 2) Offer the paper to one of the remaining ACF groups; or 3) Continue to publish as an independent Anarchist newspaper.

The option of immediately ceasing publication was seriously considered. After almost two years of producing the NAA we were ready to see the responsibility for producing it move on to

another group. The only ACF group which had made a firm offer to take over production of the newspaper was Bread and Roses. With their disaffiliation they informed us that they could only assume this task if it was understood that there would be a considerable delay between their acceptance of this task and their ability to perform it. We thought that such a delay could well prove terminal and as we think that the NAA project has intrinsic merit in itself, regardless of what becomes of the ACF, we decided that we would be willing to produce the paper as an independent Anarchist newspaper for at least another

year at which time our commitment to the project would be reassessed. We also decided to change the name of the paper from the North American Anarchist to STRIKE!

The option of offering the paper to one of the remaining ACF groups was also considered but rejected. As noted above only Bread and Roses had expressed any interest in assuming the task and we felt it highly unlikely that any of the remaining groups would be willing or able to continue publishing the NAA in its present format. As well the disaffiliated groups had provided the major sources of copy and

finances making the NAA's viability as an ACF newspaper highly suspect.

We have been informed that the remaining ACF groups plan to continue as a Midwest federation of Anarchist groups and they intend to issue their own publication in the near future. To assist them in this project we have provided them with copies of the NAA's subscription and bulk mailing lists.

The groups which disaffiliated from the ACF do not plan to launch any new organizational initiative in the immediate future. We feel a different strategy for workers' revolution is needed than that put forward by either the ACF or SRAF before it. We had begun to articulate this strategy within the ACF in recent months and we will continue to develop and promote this strategy in the pages of STRIKE! We remain committed to an active, effective and unified Anarchist revolutionary organization in North America but, the decline of the ACF, and the specific manner in which it declined, have given us pause. We feel the lessons of the SRAF/ACF experience must be fully absorbed and evaluated before a new organization can be built on solid foundations. We intend to explore these issues in upcoming issues of STRIKE! In the meantime we invite your comments and criticisms.

STRIKE!

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LETTERS TO STRIKE!

Dog's Dinner

Dear STRIKE!

I always thought that one of the more principled aspects of anarchist thought was the idea to respect other people's right to make up their own minds and to make their own decisions about doing things. But this does not seem to be part of the outlook of Lazarus Jones, as expressed in his article concerning El Salvador in your March/April issue.

Jones denounces the guerrillas as "a dog's dinner of Marxist-Leninist factions", and says that there is little for "anarchists to cheer about."

First of all, the Salvadorean people are experiencing some of the worst oppression in the world. And while that does not mean that they are automatically virtuous, I think that they have the right to choose whatever means they want to topple the fascist military regime. If they happen to follow a path which is not inherently what we would like, it is arrogant for relatively privileged anarchists to go on a sectarian rampage. After all, the revolutionary movement in El Salvador has the genuine support of the majority of people there, which is more than we anarchists can claim.

Secondly, the Salvadorean struggle is an anti-imperialist one, and as such is of benefit to the world as a whole. National self-determination may not be the only social goal, but is a valuable and necessary one.

If one accepts Jones' contention that a people's victory will only result in a government "equally vicious" as the current junta and their rich backers, then it follows

that one shouldn't support the revolution. This is no doubt just what Reagan and his lackeys want to happen.

The point is that Jones has offered no proof that his fears about the post-Duarte regime are valid. If the result would be a Bolshevik-type regime, that would be another matter. Not all "revolutions" deserve support. But if the change in Nicaragua after the overthrow of Somoza is any guide, and I think it is, then the Salvadoreans deserve our support.

It is their revolution, they are fighting a bloody fascist regime supported by the American imperialists, and their goals, even if they do not go far enough, are without a doubt more humane and progressive than found in most societies.

That's a lot to cheer about, Lazarus.

In solidarity,
George Petersen

Mousie Dung

Dear STRIKE!

In The Tragedy in El Salvador, (May-June) "Diego" ostracized the Salvadorean Left and leftism in general on the premise that Left movements inevitably sell out to either U.S. or Soviet imperialism.

He furnished examples of blurred left-wing national liberation movements that transferred countries from one imperialist bloc to the other: Cuba ("from the U.S. to the Russian bloc"), Vietnam ("U.S. to Russia"), and Vietnam ("RUSSIA TO U.S.") among others.

His theory is misconstrued, however, because his analysis of the

Chinese experience is inadequate. What about the 16 or more years BETWEEN the time China broke with Soviet bossism and the time it entered the U.S. war bloc?

During 16 years of genuine national independence, the proletarian leadership in the Chinese communist party eliminated starvation, hunger and even food rationing, led the masses in struggle against state-capitalists and clintits inside the party (the Cultural Revolution) and transformed China's economy from dependence on foreign capital to self-sufficiency.

It was that self-sufficiency that allowed China to defy both U.S. and Soviet imperialism for as many years as it did.

The real national liberation and improved standard of living won by the Chinese people put the lie to Diego's assertions that "...the Left cannot give anything to the working class except more work, more belittling, more discipline, more militarism" and "These countries never achieved any 'independence' or 'socialism.'"

The ruination of China's revolution was not predestined. It resulted from a military coup by rightist elements inside the Party who usurped the revolution, set themselves up as a bureaucratic bourgeoisie and surrendered the country to imperialism.

Mao tse-tung did not fail!

In struggle,
Don McAninch

Nit Picking?

Dear STRIKE!

Just now got Number 9 and read El Salvador. What a beautiful Revolution! Did read before I got Number 9 the criticisms of it in Number 10. Yes, you made a few errors in your article, but you did correctly and very clearly point out the game in El Salvador so fuck all your little faults. And what about critics? Nit picking bullshit (even your reply if I believe my memory)!!! Fuck Marx and

Bakunin too what do you recommend we do about the trash ashholes of El Salvador? You talked about everything else (even in your article), but what to do about it? People are dying and you argue about who it is worse to be killed by and stupidity about Marx and Bakunin (who in the final analysis were both brilliant geniuses). Man, brother, PLEASE give me a break OK? Yes in El Salvador we have a problem wherever it calls itself, but we also got to have a solution for it or a defense against it. Until a

major capitalist power collapses (must and can only be Amerikkka obviously) the people cannot win in South America. My suggestion as a solution is that we give all the support we can to the "revolutionary" forces in El Salvador while we criticize the shit out of them. In the process we help the people of El Salvador and all of the oppressed people in the world by raising the consciousness and level of struggle in the Western World still free of "Marxists" and "Socialists." Your way only plays in their hands and is suicidal for all the people world-wide, which includes us Anarchists.

The "Marxists" and "Socialists" are educating the people in El Salvador as they have since Lenin usurped power intentionally or otherwise. We must be ready when the Social Revolution jumps off to help the people remain victorious. We must as quickly as possible bring Amerikkka down and assume the role Russia would have played had the people won. No support to any government ever, but support to the most progressive faction in the struggle for power. In this struggle the "Marxists" are the most progressive faction. The people aren't stupid. They see or will see, especially after the "Marxists" are done with them, what's what and whose who, but if they get no support that's better. It is or will be hopeless to do more than accept what is until better times. While we still can we must educate and agitate as peacefully, as non-

violently as possible. The game my fellow comrades is to keep the universe or death. We must put aside our bullshit and come together. We must not scream "OVERTHROW" etc. We must speak of dismantlement. The people in North America especially will understand and support it

Love and Rage
Carl Harp
San Quentin, California.

Cult Or Movement?

Dear Friends;

A couple weeks ago I got my first two copies of NAA in the mail. I always breathe a sigh of relief when I get an anarchist paper. "Whew... still alive." Appropriate that one of them was No. 9, with Frank Steven's North American Anarchism: Cult or Movement? Over the last year of trying like hell to get in touch with other anarchists (after deciding I was one myself), I've often asked the same question. It's time for professed anarchists to address it honestly, without bullshitting themselves and each other.

It looks to me like Steven is optimistic when he gives the choice as "movement or cult". It seems that anarchism is as best a scattered intellectual tendency, and at worst it doesn't even rate as a cult. It's a self-indulgent game for retired politico-hippies who get off on seeing their names in print. Like wow, man, it's groovy to the max to call ourselves anarchists and carry black flags at demonstrations (I do it myself). It's oh-so-inspiring to identify ourselves with the Great Tradition of Bakunin and Goldman and Durruti. And it's really cute to write "Theses on Groucho Marxism" and put down the only socialist movement that's gotten anywhere in the last hundred and fifty years, even if it hasn't come through on its promises.

What the fuck are we doing besides talking? What use is all the

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West German Authorities Capitulate: Massive protest frees Brenda

This was Brenda's first visit to Germany. When this was pointed out to the authorities they curtly remarked: "If you can prove that, you can go free." Now how is it possible to prove that one was not in a country over 11 years ago?

By Henry Pezet

British Anarchist Brenda Earl Christie was saved from an up to nine month term in a West German prison, awaiting trial on a fictitious charge, by a truly heartening international display of solidarity. The massive protests and demonstrations on Brenda's behalf caused the prosecutor in charge of her case to remark: "I've never known a case where there have been so many protests in so short a time."

Brenda had been visiting relatives in the British forces stationed in Germany and was arrested when she attempted to board a flight home with her child. She was arrested on an 11 year old warrant! The charge was that she had purchased a ticket in Frankfurt for a passenger (that never was) who placed an explosive device on an Iberia jetliner. This was at a time when the First of May Group waged a series of attacks on Spanish interests as a protest against Franco's execution of political opponents of his regime. The main point was that this was Brenda's first visit to Germany. When this was pointed out to the authorities they curtly remarked: "If you can prove that, you can go free." Now how is it possible to prove that one was not in a country over 11 years ago?

Brenda (the companion of Scottish Anarchist Stuart Christie) was brought to a West German prison near Frankfurt while her baby was taken to an institution. It is safe to assume that the child was innocent seeing as how the warrant was issued over eight years before she was born. Fortunately friends were soon able to take the child home. Brenda was imprisoned for nine days, but the protests rolled in at such an unbelievable pace that the embarrassed German authorities soon declared that she had been "cleared."

Among the many protests that rolled in was a letter to the German ambassador in Madrid from the Catalan CNT: "Thousands of

Spanish trade unionists and their families, including all our older members, could be arrested on grounds like this if travelling in 'ex' fascist countries," it said. "We were all automatically accused by Franco of similar charges. If the charges can go back 11 years, they can go back forty years — when we were taking illegal action against German Fascism."

The question that arises is why was Brenda charged at this time? There was no reason whatsoever to wait all this time if the warrant had really existed. During the Angry Brigade trial, this matter (the bombing) was raised in regards to Stuart but was quickly disposed of. Brenda was not accused at that time. Having waited for over a decade how could the prosecutor expect to produce conclusive identification now?

There are two possible reasons. The Christie File, Stuart's autobiography, has recently been published and the British police were furious at some of the allegations and revelations made concerning their activities. In fact a meeting of those police officers involved was held at Scotland Yard to discuss what, if anything, could be done about the book. They were also looking like complete idiots over their failure to prosecute Stuart for the booklet *Towards A Citizen's Militia* after Tory MP's and/or Labour MP had called for it to be banned and Cienfuegos Press closed down. Could all of this have been the result of spite and malice on their part?

There is another possibility. Recently the West German State has been under criticism for allowing a proliferation of fascist-type terrorist groups to operate freely throughout the country. Perhaps they wished to show that they were vigilantly stopping terrorism — but didn't want to take action against the fascists. History seems to always want to come full circle.



Brenda Christie Earl and her daughter Branwen

Brenda's arrest in historical perspective

THE INCIDENT On 19 May this year Brenda Earl, a 50 year old libertarian publisher based in Orkney, and her two year old daughter Branwen Christie were detained at Hanover Airport as they were boarding a Garwick bound flight following a three week holiday in Germany where they had been staying with Brenda's sister-in-law. Both mother and daughter were held by the Federal Border Police when the Central Police Computer in Wiesbaden indicated that Brenda was wanted on a warrant issued against her 11 years previously in Frankfurt. This was the first indication anyone had that such a warrant existed. It came as an even greater shock as this was the first time Brenda had visited Germany. The Federal Police took great delight in tormenting Brenda while she was being detained at the airport with the threat that she would have to spend many many years in a German prison and that her daughter would be grown up by the time she was released. Even if the charge was eventually thrown out of court she would still have to spend up to nine months before the case was tried.

THE CHARGE That on 28 April, 1970, someone using the name Earl bought a ticket in Cologne for an Iberia Airways flight from Frankfurt to Barcelona. This ticket, in the name of a Spaniard called Santos, was used to check-in a piece of luggage on an Iberia Airways flight on May 10, 12 days later. This piece of luggage contained an incendiary device. Shortly after the luggage was checked-in a warning telephone call was made to the airport authorities, the bag was identified and removed to a remote section of the airport. Similar events occurred at approximately the same time at other major European airports, including Geneva, Brussels and Heathrow. Donald Lidstone, a senior member of the Home Office Explosives Department at Woolwich Arsenal described the devices as follows: "...after giving off an intensely hot flame for a second and a half, it then gave off a large amount of black smoke". None of the devices

were on the planes when they went off, as all services had been notified before departure time. The responsibility for the attacks were claimed by the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth (FILI) as part of an international campaign against Spanish sourness and the execution and torture of Spanish anti-fascists. This organisation had been carrying out anti-Francoist activities outside of Spain since the end of World War II and none of these propagandist activities involved injury or loss of life to anyone.

THE EVIDENCE The use of the name Earl and a courier clerk who allegedly claims to be able to recognize the ticket buyer—after 11 years.

THE BACKGROUND Brenda Earl was thoroughly investigated by Scotland Yard Special Branch and the Airport Police at Heathrow (X Division) for alleged involvement in this same series of incidents within a few days of the event occurring—11 years ago! Shortly after the incident occurred at Heathrow (and elsewhere) the home of Brenda Earl and her husband, Stuart Christie, was raided at 6:00 am, a few minutes after Stuart Christie had left for work. Having waited until Stuart had gone, they gained entrance to the flat by sending a woman to ring the front door bell. Brenda, who was still in bed at the time, went to the window and looked out to see who it was. "Please, Brenda, let me in—it's urgent...I'm in terrible trouble. I want to see Stuart." Brenda put on her dressing gown and rushed downstairs to open the door. As she did she was pushed aside by a dozen male detectives who had been hiding round the corner. They dragged Brenda upstairs and ran straight into the flat, ransacking all the belongings, smashing open locked doors as well as the electricity meter. When Brenda protested she was told by one policeman not to worry "You are not going to see these fucking things for at least twenty years." They did not allow her to get dressed in private but stood watching while she did so—the woman

detective having disappeared at this juncture. They even stood at the open door when she went to the toilet. After a gross denial of entry both Brenda and Stuart were taken off to West Drayton police station where they kept her in solitary confinement without access to any legal advisers for the rest of the day, trying to pressure her into making a confession implicating both herself and Stuart in the incidents. She was put on an identity parade which turned out to be negative and as there was nothing anywhere to link either Stuart or herself with any of the incidents she was released. Scotland Yard claimed that Brenda had been the person who bought the ticket used in the Heathrow incident: at a London travel agency on 24 April (4 days before the Cologne ticket was purchased) and that she was directly involved in checking-in the luggage with the incendiary device at Heathrow on May 10th. Fortunately, both Brenda and Stuart were having lunch with friends on May 10 when the news broke and a neighbour, a police Inspector, had been chatting to them earlier that same morning. Also, because of the constant surveillance on Stuart Christie, Brenda and their flat (they were considered prime suspects because of their well-known and documented anti-fascist and anti-Francoist activities) and the extremely long hours Stuart was working on the Gas Conversion contract at the time (14/16 hours a day), friends who worked with Stuart and who were constant visitors to the flat during this period—none of them politically involved in any way, simply workmates—have quite a vivid memory of the period and to the best of their recollections of Brenda being abroad nor did she ever mention visiting Germany. The first time Brenda visited Germany was on 28 April 1981. Later, in 1970, both Stuart and Brenda were both questioned on many occasions by Special

See Brenda Pg. 12



A Challenge to the Prison Movement



The following article was submitted to us anonymously under the title, *Revolution In The Prisons? A Challenge To Anarchists And The Prison Movement*, and while we are not in full agreement with the sentiments and opinions expressed we feel it deserves a wider audience. Prisons and penal servitude are the products of capitalist social relationships and our opposition to prisons is based upon this fact. This opposition is not dependent on the presence or lack of "revolutionary consciousness" among prisoners but solely on the fact that prisons represent the capitalist response to overwhelmingly capitalist produced problems. Our opposition to prisons as a "cure" for anti-social behaviour is therefore and integral part of our generalized opposition to capitalism. As such we cannot endorse the author's call to abandon anti-prison work. We invite comments and criticisms of this article from anyone interested or active in anti-prison work.

The history of the revolutionary struggle since the Industrial Revolution has always included active opposition to the steady development of modern penal institutions, and for very good reason. The prisons of the nineteenth and twentieth century have unquestionably been instruments of class coercion and terror, wielded selectively against the poor, the uneducated, the minorities, the people, in short, those most systematically victimized already by the structure and operation of economic and social institutions.

In recent years, it has become axiomatic among socialists, anarchists and communists alike, that prisoners represent the "most oppressed", a potential vanguard group of "natural rebels" against class society. The entire spectrum of the left, even those who in theory reject the concepts of vanguards and hierarchies of oppression, have in practice devoted a disproportionately large amount of time, energy and resources to the prison movement, often to the exclusion of issues which more immediately affect their own lives.

The ideological underpinnings, or perhaps more correctly the rhetorical ones, for this devotion to prisoners can be located in the slogans of early twentieth century radicals. Nor are slogans such as Eugene Debs' "as long as there is a soul in prison I'm not free", or the

Wobblies' "we're in here for you, and you're out there for us" by their nature untrue.

However, in that era, when huge numbers of poor people who were actively engaged in the social struggle relating to their own oppression were incarcerated, the relation between inside and outside — and the obligations owed by the movement to prisoners — were quite unambiguous. The same can be said of prisoners in Franco's Spain, for example, or of any number of people imprisoned in the U.S. for objecting to the war in Vietnam.

This article is being written, however, because both social conditions and the nature of prison support work have changed in recent years. To put it bluntly, we are writing this because we can no longer silently accept the uncritical idolatry, the slavish devotion, the emotional and physical rape, the insane violence, manipulation and brutality which have come to characterize the prison movement in North America over the past decade.

We are tired of being threatened and denounced as "counter-revolutionary" when we refuse to drop everything to wait on "political prisoners" whose political practice goes no deeper than writing endless reams of empty rhetoric in their daily missives to the outside.

The entire spectrum of the left, even those who in theory reject the concepts of vanguards and hierarchies of oppression, have in practice devoted a disproportionately large amount of time, energy and resources to the prison movement, often to the exclusion of issues which more immediately affect their own lives.

To be a "political prisoner" requires more than a glib pen and an easy familiarity with the jargon of a particular political tendency. The kind of support people in for political "crimes" deserve may be quite different from the support given to other prisoners. If we are honest with ourselves we must admit that there is a difference between an Alexander Berkman and some perennial stick-up man who gets caught robbing a gas station and then 'converts' to anarchism or some other political tendency while in prison.

Make no mistake. We are absolutely committed to the abolition of all prisons, to the creation of a society in which prisons, courts, guards and police will have no function. But in such a society, when crimes are committed against one's fellows, they will be dealt with, perhaps not too dissimilarly from the way they were dealt with in primitive societies, in a direct and unmediated way, considered too 'radical' in bourgeois society.

We do support aid to prisoners whose crimes were politically motivated in a clear-cut way (not including shooting into crowds on the freeway or bombing supermarkets full of people trying to get groceries for dinner). We also recognize the possibility that even the worst individual might come to a real political awakening in prison, although this would surely include an understanding of his own crimes and not simply excuses for them framed in political terms. And we think that all prisoners — from shoplifters to murderers — must be treated in the most humane way we can force the state to treat them in its institutions now.

But it is also time to realize that prisoners whose crimes have no relation to their political beliefs are victims rather than being "natural rebels", are the types of individuals who in a classless, prisonless society would be exiled at the very least, and more likely put out of their misery by the victims or survivors of their brutality. Nor is this entirely untrue for the perpetrators of 'victimless' or 'revolutionary' crimes. Far too often, for example, "expropriation" of goods has meant also endangering the lives and security of others considered "comrades", without even informing them that they might be at risk.

Putting aside all the liberal romanticism about prisoners as simple victims of class injustice, we must cope with the fact that most prisoners are inside for acts which they did in fact commit. Without for a moment recognizing the legitimacy of the state and its legal

One of the romantic illusions of the movement is that prisons are the 'breeding grounds for revolutionaries.' The prisoner, ground down by life and subjected to the most absolute degradation in class society, is forged into a tough, unbreakable rebel.

system that judges these acts, we must nevertheless recognize that many of the "comrades" who appeal so fervently to your compassion and sense of justice, have never themselves had the slightest concern for the rights, feelings, desires or even lives of others.

In a society where "dog-eat-dog" is elevated to national policy, these "rebels" represent the most abysmally inept yet enthusiastic practitioners of the morality of that order. Thus it is only natural that when they are put in prison, stripped of all power, they naturally seek to regain it by the only means available: imposing their wills on outside supporters.

This article, however, is not intended to focus solely on the role of the prisoners, because by themselves their significance is limited. It is extremely important to examine the psychological relationship of prisoners to authority, since in general it is quite the opposite of the "natural rebel" mythology. Equally important, though, are the factors which have created the base for the prison movement outside, and the many disturbing factors which have become apparent within it.

ROOTS OF THE CONTEMPORARY PRISON MOVEMENT

The contemporary prison movement has its roots in the civil rights and anti-war movement and the prison uprisings of the late 1960's. Not only did the civil rights and anti-war movements find many of their numbers behind bars, but it was also predictable that this experience and the generalized social revolt which characterized the era would not leave prisons undisturbed. In addition, the combination of a militant black movement outside (especially the Black Panther Party), which had its roots in the same social milieu which is most highly represented in the prisons, made it natural that much of the leadership and inspiration for prison revolts

would come from that quarter. This, combined with the presence of a higher-than-usual number of political types in prisons, made prison revolts almost inevitable.

The most famous single figure emerging from that period was George Jackson. An undeniable giant of a man, Jackson had a long history of small-time violent crimes for which he was serving an indeterminate one year to life sentence. After ten years in prison, he had become a self-educated "revolutionary theoretician", well-read in a wide variety of revolutionary and guerrilla writings, and brilliantly articulate both on paper and in person. He was also known to be extremely charming and charismatic.

Thanks to the efforts of a group of Bay Area lawyers and Angela Davis (almost all of them Communist Party hacks or sympathizers), George Jackson's reputation spread far and wide, combining what was real with what was legally expeditious, even if totally fictitious. In an article in the March 1981 issue of New West magazine about Fay Stender (one of the main lawyers involved in Jackson's case), some less-well-known facts about Jackson were also revealed.

Like almost all of the leaders of the Black Panther Party who ended up in jail, notably Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, Jackson was a gangster supreme (to the extent possible in the joint). According to the authors of the article, Jackson was at the center of drug-dealing, ass-peddling, and all the other rackets of prison life. He also boasted of having killed 12 people inside, a fact which is unprovable but at least highly suggestive of a brutal and authoritarian bent.

The fact that Jackson was not alone in his duality of roles, hero and rogue, is aptly demonstrated by others who have emerged from prison only to find Jesus and a fast buck, or to return to the streets better equipped than ever to terror-

ize, exploit and defraud not "the Man" but their neighbors, co-workers and families. The "Alfalfa Sprout Wars" in the Bay Area a few years ago, in which ex-prisoners and prisoner support people shot it out on numerous occasions to see which faction would control local food co-ops, and the Oakland Panthers' involvement in drug dealing and extortion rackets, are just a few examples of the dubious "politics" of many "revolutionary prisoners".

We believe that Jackson's writings were, in fact, entirely consistent with the view of Jackson as an authoritarian gangster and not as hero of the liberation struggle. He was an avowed Marxist-Leninist, whose heroes were Lenin, Mao, Ho Chi Minh and Guevara. His main revolutionary vision was one of an apocalyptic firestorm of guerrilla battles in the slums, in which blacks and their supporters would be the revolutionary vanguard, putting the Man to death. There was precious little of any vision in his writings of what a new society might consist of. Nor were many of his actions in relation to his outside supporters inconsistent with his own descriptions of his politics. "Politics is my hustle" was a comment not infrequently repeated to his supporters. Unfortunately, some, like Fay Stender, never took him seriously.

Until about 1977 virtually all prison movement ideology was Marxist-Leninist, with its standard baggage of Third World vanguardism and the added component of 'prisoner leadership'. Much of the urban guerrilla movement in the U.S., from the formation of the B.L.A. in the late 60's, through the S.L.A., N.W.L.F., and onto the G.I.B. in the mid-70's, was also based on this basic analysis.

Then, around 1977, when the Marxist-Leninists were drifting into a period of internal dissolution and the urban guerrilla groups were increasingly taking on the characteristics of street gangs, *The Open Road* appeared. For the first time in many years in North America, there was a widely circulated anarchist journal which gave enthusiastic support to prisoners and urban guerrillas. Furthermore, Joe Remiro and Russ Little, who were widely respected by both those inside and outside who were inclined toward the guerrilla solution to prisons, came out as anarchists. So it was only natural that prisoners and the prison movement, sensing that anarchism might be the leftist political tendency on the ascent, began to cultivate "anarchist" ideas and language in order to maintain maximum outside contacts and support.

The underlying Marxist-Leninist, authoritarian and totally vanguardist assumptions did not change in the slightest, however. Only the rhetoric differed. Thus the first of the spectacular acts of prisoners routinely writing to libertarian papers, advocating the overthrow of the state and the class system, and the establishment of *Workers' Rule*.

One other interesting development which gradually occurred during this period had to do with the sexual composition of the prisoner support movement. The prison support movement has always had a high percentage of women, and has worked primarily with men's prisons. One might expect that the rise of feminism within the left might have led to a decline in the number of women, and/or a change in focus toward working more with women in prison.

Somewhat disturbingly, nothing of the kind happened. While some women in the prison movement have begun to get involved with women as well as men in prison, the emphasis remains on men's prisons. Equally disturbing is the fact that so many of the women

involved in the prison movement are lesbians. Here is a contradiction so widespread and rationally incomprehensible that it is no surprise that discussion of this dynamic is totally unheard of within the prison movement.

Romanticism seems to be a major factor in the relationship, particularly between male prisoners and female supporters. Who but a prisoner can give such total and undivided attention to a relationship, what other relationship can be constantly at such an unbelievably high level of emotional intensity? Men on the outside have jobs, other friends, and so on. But

learned contempt for bourgeois morality and can thereby be counted upon to oppose it at every turn. So the myth goes.

Unfortunately, this is not supported at all by reality. Prison is the most oppressive and authoritarian institution in this society, and its main function is to create authoritarian personalities. That's why fascists make not only the best guards, but also the best prisoners.

It is hardly new that the authoritarian personality contains two mirror-images within it, both almost invariably present within a single person. The often-quoted

and authority over others. Charlie Manson is the prototype of the authoritarian personality created by prisons. Sadly enough, many of the past and present 'leaders' of the prison movement inside the prisons are of the same variety. But they are the more dangerous because they disguise their megalomania with revolutionary slogans, using this hustle to gain support where none would otherwise be forthcoming.

Thus we have, for example, Carl Harp, the latest "anarchist" hero in the international prison movement. For several years now, Harp has been cranking out

doubt also used to spur people to political action) and yet can't recognize the transparency of this conversion?

In an interview after his conviction for the Bellevue Sniper case, Harp admitted to having raped two women (he held a pistol to their heads) who were enjoying an afternoon hike in the woods. He said, "I'm not sorry I did it, but I'm sorry it occurred." He also talked of his plans to become a noted writer, or artist, or cartoonist, and he talked of his belief in god. There was not the slightest sign of contrition, but there was abundant evidence of an intention to get people to pay attention to him, by whatever scam would prove to be most effective. Clearly, anarchism turned out to be the right choice.

That Carl Harp is a very victimized individual, who has had a rotten life and has felt the full force of this deadly society, is without a doubt true. That Carl Harp has even in his limited way tried to absorb some libertarian notions and put them into practice inside is possible and certainly to his credit. But the idea of Carl Harp as an authentic anarchist resistance hero, whose case should become an international cause celebre, is an idea that makes us physically ill, and makes us doubt the sanity of some of our comrades.

What is most disturbing about this case is the fact that it is not the exception, but the rule as far as the relationship of prisoners and supporters is concerned. Over and over again, the prison movement readily jumps to the support of prisoners and makes heroes of them, merely because the prisoner is spouting a convincing line of right-on rhetoric. Where is the case of a prison "revolutionary" who can articulate any positive vision of a revolutionary society, or who comes out of prison and leads a life which doesn't victimize his family, friends, and neighbors, let alone which involves struggle for a more meaningful life or a different society? Amazingly enough, against all odds we believe there probably are some such individuals, but one doubts they are counted among the "heavies" of the prison movement.

Fay Stender was one of the people who said the bell with it, after many years at the service of the "greats" in the prison revolutionary set. As she watched these "revolutionaries" get back on the streets, where they reverted to gangland activities, got recycled back into prison, or shot each other, she gave it up and turned her attention elsewhere.

In May 1979, an ex-con with a long record and an urge for a "heavy rep" broke into her apartment in the middle of the night. After forcing her to write a "confession" of her "betrayal" of George Jackson and the prison movement (the nature of which betrayal was apparently as nebulous to the assailant as to Fay Stender), he gunned her down, leaving her permanently crippled. A year later she killed herself, rather than living a life ridden with fear and dismay over her own past and threatened future.

It was Fay Stender's story unusual. The Bay Area for years has had a bizarre series of plots involving its "urban guerrillas", the prison movement, the left, the gangsters both black and white. The incidence of dead radicals, whose bullet-riddled bodies turn up in the morgue there with disturbing frequency, might be understandable if they were dying in pitched battles with the police, as happens elsewhere. But they don't. They fall victim to their own "Revolutionary Forces", "People's Justice", and all the other lame labels with which they

See Challenge Pg. 14

**Make no mistake.
We are absolutely committed to the abolition of all prisons, to the creation of a society in which prisons, guards and police will have no function.**



the prison romance is different. Each look, each stolen touch, each request, each call is charged with significance. The "heavier" the prisoner, the greater the significance. After all, any guard could destroy the delicate situation at any time. And what better opportunity for self-sacrifice (how traditionally degrees at different times. With the "commanders", this dynamic results in phenomena like the constant search among the rich and powerful for forms of sexual encounter which will result in bondage, submission or degradation under the leather boot of the prostitute.

In the prisoner, the quintessential "obeyer", the dynamic plays itself out in inverse. Forced to submit to a situation of routinized absolute powerlessness, total submission on the most mundane levels of existence, the prisoners learn the techniques of manipulation which are the only recourse of the powerless. To lie, to cheat, to swindle, to use guilt, phony sincerity, any trick at all to relieve the burden of omnipresent subjugation, becomes the natural behavior of the prisoner in order to survive on the inside. Naturally this is increased a thousand-fold when a person's entire life involves institutions, the streets, parental abuse and neglect, and all the horrors which constitute the lives of many prisoners for whom the joint is the most secure and best-known home.

PRISONS AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PRISONER

One of the romantic illusions of the movement is that prisons are the "breeding grounds for revolutionaries". The prisoner, ground down by life and subjected to the absolute oppression and degradation possible in class society, is thus forged into a tough, unbreakable rebel, who has

learned contempt for bourgeois morality and can thereby be counted upon to oppose it at every turn. So the myth goes. Unfortunately, this is not supported at all by reality. Prison is the most oppressive and authoritarian institution in this society, and its main function is to create authoritarian personalities. That's why fascists make not only the best guards, but also the best prisoners. It is hardly new that the authoritarian personality contains two mirror-images within it, both almost invariably present within a single person. The often-quoted

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BREAD & ROSES

Polish Feminists Organize

The latest issue of *Labour Focus* On Eastern Europe reports an exciting new development in Poland. This being the formation of the first contemporary feminist group in that country. Involving some one hundred women it was formed at the University of Warsaw this past November. Upon its formation these Polish feminists proceeded to formulate a list of twelve demands and a statement of goals which if fully realized would profoundly change the nature of existing society in Poland.

Critically, the Polish feminists want to see their demands taken up by the workers' movement. Should this be achieved without compromising the autonomy of the Polish women's movement it can only result in a decisive advance for the class struggle by deepening the challenge it presents. Furthermore, such practical unity would serve to counter-act the socially reactionary influence of the Roman Catholic Church which continues to take archaic positions on issues central to the struggle for women's liberation. It would also serve to confront political activists who seek merely to reform the present system in Poland with demands posing the necessity of a far-reaching social revolution.

At the moment the Polish feminists are appealing for resources, material and otherwise, essential to the growth of their movement. Included among the projects they have been seeking to initiate are feminist publications, theatre, a feminist art gallery and a pool of information about feminism in general. Accordingly, the Polish feminists very much desire contacts with the women's liberation movement on an international scale. Interested persons can reach and/or aid in this in whatever way possible by writing to: Krytina Kowalewski, Uniwersytet Warszawski, U. Krakowski Przedmieście 24, 00-325 Warszawa.

Women into Trades

In the past several years a growing number of women have entered, or tried to enter, a variety of skilled and unskilled "blue collar" occupations where traditionally only males have been trained and employed. In other industries, ranging from textiles to telephones, which employ large numbers of women in lower-paying jobs, women workers are increasingly conscious and vocal about their special problems on the job, in the union, and in the economy and society as whole.

One of the expressions of all this was the first Ontario Women in Trades and Industry Conference held in Hamilton, Canada, on April 24-26, 1981. The purpose of the April Conference was to draw together women from across the province of Ontario; working women in trades and industry, women who are pursuing vocational training for such jobs, and women who have been denied access to such jobs and training. The conference helped to establish an effective network of communication and develop an action perspective for long overdue change. It is hoped that such an exchange of information and ideas can help lead to more action to provide equal conditions for workers in the economy.

The conference drew over 130 participants from all occupations such as secretaries, millwrights, auto mechanics, students, organized and unorganized labourers.

Various workshops were held dealing with topics such as "Better Access to Jobs," "Health and Safety" and "Day-care." Panel discussions of women in various trades were presented and several speakers addressed some important issues including different forms of Working Woman's organizations and the relation between women workers and Unions. To get in touch with the ongoing activities of the Women Into Trades and Industry write c/o 200 Balmoral south, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Classified

20¢ per word. Free for announcements and other items under fifty words in length and not involving cash exchange.

Prison Book Project Left Bank Books operates a "Books to Prisoners" project in which we send any book in print in the U.S. to prisoners at cost (usually 30-35% off retail price) and we pay all postage costs. Prisoners may order direct from us, or friends may write and arrange to have the books sent in. Write to: Left Bank Books, Box A, 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101, USA.

Fan-Loving Bunch of anarchists (3 households, 4 women and 5 men) are looking for one or two more women to join our ranks. For details write: Columbia Anarchist League, P.O. Box 380, Columbia, Missouri 65201, USA.

Anti-Authoritarian Calendar 1982 Left Bank Books is assembling an

anti-authoritarian calendar and requests that people send in dates of interesting/important events. They also request that individuals and bookstores send in advance orders, no deposit required, so they can gauge demand. Left Bank Books, 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA 98101, USA.

Mail Strike

As we put the finishing touches to the paper Canada is in the second week of a nationwide postal strike. The Canadian Union of Postal Workers has been an exceptionally militant union and the government seems determined to endure a long strike in order to cripple or smash the union. We hope that the paper is not too dated by the time it reaches you. Look for the next issue two months after you receive this one.

Readership Survey

The response to our reader survey in NAA8 wasn't as large as we would have liked but, as a statistician friend of ours informed us, even a survey with as few as 10 responses can be considered valid. We don't make the claim that this survey is representative or that it presents an accurate picture of the North American Anarchist movement. However, the geographical diversity of the responses and some common threads, make it at least interesting and perhaps even informative.

Sample Size: 26

Geographical Breakdown: U.S., 18; Canada, 4; Australia, 3; England, 1.

Age: The readers in our sample ranged in age from 20 to 55. Of those who chose to put their age down 14 were in their 20s, 7 were in their 30s, 2 were in their 40s and one was in his 50s.

Sex: 21 (82%) of the respondents were male and 5 (18%) were female.

Income: 13 listed their income as being under \$5000, 6 earned between \$5-10,000, 5 made \$10-15,000 and 2 earned more than \$15,000 per year.

Job: White collar, 6; Blue collar, 7; Professional, 3; Unwaged, 6; Student, 3; Unionized, 10.

Accommodation: Own, 2; Co-op, 2; Rent, 20.

Sexual Orientation: Heterosexual, 14; Gay, 1; Bisexual, 4; None of your business, 9.

Politics: Anarchist-Communist, 7; Syndicalist, 0; Individualist, 2; Anarchist, 6; Marxist, 1; Marxist-Leninist, 0; Liberal, 0; Fascist, 0; Autonomist, 1; Trotskyist, 1.

Other Reading: The *Open Road* was the most read periodical with 14 mentions. Other publications cited were *Fifth Estate* (9), *Freedom* (8), *Cienfuegos Press Review* (5), *Anarchy* (3), *Industrial Worker* (3), *Black Flag* (2), *Overthrow* (2), *Black Rose* (2), *Flashpoint*, *Soil of Liberty*, *On The Line*, *SRAF Bulletin*, *XTRA!*, *A Bataha* and *A Idea* (both from Portugal) were each mentioned once.

Circulation: To the question "how many people read your copy of the NAA?" nine people answered one, four people said two, seven people said three and six said four or more.

Distribution: When asked how they received the NAA 13 said they were subscribers, four said they bought it at a bookstore, two got it from a street-sale, six got it from friends and one person said he stole his copy from a bookstore.

Coverage: After arbitrarily dividing the major concerns of the paper into eight categories we asked our readers to evaluate our coverage of each area. VG—Very Good, G—Good, A—Average, P—Poor, VP—Very Poor.

Anarchist News: VG—4; G—12; A—6; P—0; VP—0.

Labour: VG—5; G—10; A—5; P—1; VP—3.

Current Events: VG—5; G—7; A—2; P—4; VP—2.

Prison News: VG—5; G—6; A—10; P—2; VP—0.

Feminism: VG—4; G—6; A—5; P—5; VP—0.

Culture: VG—2; G—2; A—7; P—5; VP—2.

Humour: VG—2; G—6; A—6; P—5; VP—4.

Theory: VG—0; G—8; A—4; P—6; VP—4.

Subjects: Among the subjects our readers would like to see more coverage of Anarchist history was mentioned three times and organizing was mentioned twice. Single mentions included: Sexuality; Rise of Fascism; How to live as an Anarchist; Mass Media; Autonomous Movements; Collective Living; Anarchist movement in South America; News with less boring and/or arrogant editorializing; Critiques of other organizations; Youth Struggles; Alternative Lifestyles; International Squatters Movement; Critique of Work; Gays; Music. Some of these areas have been addressed in issues appearing after the survey. We will use the others as a guide for future articles.

Columns: Readers were asked how often they read the various columns and features. 1—Never, 2—Sometimes, 3—Always.

For Starters: 1—0; 2—8; 3—16.

Letters: 1—1; 2—2; 3—21.

Anarcho-Tech: 1—2; 2—7; 3—15.

Anarchist Feminist Notes: 1—2; 2—5; 3—16.

Mixed Media: 1—2; 2—4; 3—16.

Prison News: 1—0; 2—7; 3—15.

Libertarian Notes: 1—0; 2—4; 3—19.

Labour Pains: 1—1; 2—6; 3—17.

Comments: Most people felt we were doing a good job and only wished we came out more often. There were, however, a few discouraging words. One correspondent felt that "Anarcho-Technology and Anarchist Feminist Notes are nothing more than importations of bourgeois ideology into the libertarian movement." Another correspondent informed us that our project "is vilified by its producerist, workerist, 'organizer' ethos/ethnic and overall conservatism." But, to close on an upbeat note, a person who identified himself as a Trotskyist sympathiser declared: "I am amazed at the quality of the paper." Thanks to all who took the time to participate in the survey.

Early Christian sect opposed hierarchy

By M. Archibald

It is a recurring theme of the anarchist view of history that the most important social movements—those with the potential to liberate rather than enslave—are often those we know the least from the written record.

Such is the case with gnosticism, a variant of the Christian movement in the first and second centuries A.D. Until recently the gnostics were known almost exclusively through the violent polemics of their bitterest enemies, much as anarchism is known to a contemporary Soviet citizen only through Marxist-Leninist critiques.

In 1945 a gang of nomadic cut-throats in Upper Egypt discovered a clay jug filled with gnostic manuscripts. Some of these scraps of papyrus were subsequently used as kindling, but in due course the remainder fell into the hands of an even worse band of criminals—the international academic establishment. Hoarded by jealous scholars for decades, the texts have only recently become widely accessible. Finally we can study the gnostics on their own terms.

The first one hundred and fifty years of Christianity are generally obscure, in part because the movement was largely proletarian in character. Christianity only developed the potential to become a state religion when it moved up the social ladder and organized itself in imitation of the Roman political and military system. Evidently there was more diversity in the early movement (not yet a church)



Pick yer' poison

than the official histories would have us believe.

In comparing gnosticism with orthodox Christianity, three major differences can be discerned: (1) The gnostics opposed bureaucracy. They rejected a hierarchy of bishops, priests, and elders. For them the only purpose for accepting authority was to learn to outgrow it.

(2) The gnostics recognized the equal participation of men and women in religious practice. The gnostic God had both feminine and masculine qualities. In some of the gnostic gospels, Mary Magdalene, far from being a woman of ill-repute as she appears in the orthodox gospels, is in fact the leading disciple of Jesus. (In one gnostic account she denounces Peter, the leading orthodox disciple, as a "hater of women".) The equality of women in the gnostic groups evidently is a reflection of the proletarian nature of the movement,

i.e. a reflection of the fact the women shared equally in manual labour. Even today in the Middle East, it is only middle class women who are veiled.

(3) The gnostics rejected doctrine and ritual. For them each person must seek for truth individually—there were no received truths, only methods for seeking truth.

Gnosticism, of course, had no future in the Roman Empire and was doomed to remain an underground current. It is important to remember that it was the gentle gnostics and not the bloodthirsty Roman emperors who were the true enemies of the early Christian Church. The martyred Christian fanatics shared a vision of a hierarchical, vertically ordered society with their Roman persecutors. In fact orthodox Christianity evolved in opposition to gnosticism much as orthodox Marxism evolved in opposition to anarchism.



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April 27, 1981

North American Anarchist
P.O. Box 2, Station 0
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M4B 2B0

We are considering a subscription to "North American Anarchist" and would like to obtain a sample copy if possible.

In addition, please advise as to:

- 1) the cost of a one year subscription.
- 2) the frequency of the journal.

Your assistance in the above matter is greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

C. Hough

C. Hough (Mrs.)
Corporate Strategies Department

CH/dm

Corporate Anarchy?

A spectre is haunting the boardrooms of the nation — the spectre of Anarchism. As capitalism sinks deeper into the '80s and terminal depression it seems that at least one of our most prominent multinational corporations has its ear pressed firmly to the ground listening to the rumbles from below.

Imagine our surprise when one fine Spring morning a letter bearing the corporate logo of Shell Oil Canada dropped into our mailbox requesting a sample copy of the NAA and subscription information. And, lo and behold, this unusual request was made on behalf of the "Corporate Strategies Dept." Do they know something we don't? Is there a massive groundswell of support for Anarchism building up in the ether regions of society? Or are they just covering all their bets?

The May issue of Mother Jones magazine, in an article written by a man who infiltrated a strategy session for the nuclear power industry, reports that the nuclear industry regards the Friends of the Earth's publication, Not Man Apart, as the best source of environmentalist ideology and anti-nuclear strategy. Perhaps the oil industry sees the Anarchist movement as the best barometer of the level of revolutionary activity in North America.

In our reply to Shell Oil we stated that our subscription rates were based on ability to pay. We charged libraries and funded organizations more than individuals and sent the paper free of charge to those who couldn't afford to pay. As we had not anticipated receiving subscription requests from multinational corporations we had not set a "corporate" rate. We informed Shell that they had become a "trendsetter" in yet another area by prompting us to establish a corporate rate of \$50 per annum.

We put a sample copy in the mail along with a covering letter and sat back to await a reply. A couple of weeks later, sure enough, a reply came. Enclosed was a cheque for five dollars and a xerox of the subscription ad in the sample copy we had sent them with the individual rate circle. Well, Shell Oil hadn't become one of the largest companies in the world by giving full value for goods received, so we weren't unduly surprised.

We returned their cheque with a note attached pointing out that they had been informed that the corporate rate was fifty dollars per year and if they wanted a subscription that is what it would cost. With the obscene profits the oil companies are making you would think that they could afford it.

Apparently not. A little over a week later we received another letter in which C. Hough (Mrs.), Corporate Strategies Dept., declared: "In view of the increased cost, as cited in your letter of June 9, 1981, we have decided not to subscribe to this journal. The corporate rate quoted, amounts to a ten fold increase and as such it was decided not to subscribe."

You would think the oil companies would be the last people on earth to complain about "ten fold increases" but maybe things are getting a little tight among the Seven Sisters. If there are any other corporations out there interested in the shape of things to come, and who can afford the fifty bucks, feel free to send in your subscriptions. We'd love to hear from you!



Coffee & Donuts

The kind of bonhomie required of workers in the fast-food industry has always been a source of particular irritation for me. I've often been tempted to reply to the injunction to "Have a nice day!" with a surly "Is that an order?" But like most people, I realize its just part of the job the same as speed-ups, low wages and ridiculous uniforms. The only time the whole charade becomes truly pathetic is when you run into someone who actually takes it seriously.

I was on my way home from a meeting one night recently and I decided to drop into a donut shop for a quick fix of sugar. It was around 11 o'clock and the shop was deserted except for the waitress who was sitting at the back with what appeared to be the lone customer. Upon spotting me she popped out of her chair so fast you would have thought she was spring loaded and came storming effectively down to the counter. The "Hi, how are you's, anything else's, enjoy your snack's and have a nice day's" were coming fast and furious. Slightly overwhelmed I mumbled the stock responses and retreated to a table clutching my coffee and maple donut. The waitress quickly returned to her table and resumed her interrupted conversation.

It soon became apparent that the main topic of conversation was another employee of the establishment, an older woman who worked the midnight shift. In a surprisingly nascent tone of voice the waitress, who looked to be in her early '50s, graphically described how the older woman lacked "ambition" and treated her work as "just a job." This seemed to amount to a reluctance to behave like a wind-up "happy" doll whenever there were customers around. The customer then chimed in that she also habitually gave the wrong change,

although it was obvious from the conversation that she invariably under rather than over charged the customers.

According to the waitress these qualities were fairly general among the older employees and well known to management. The only thing that saved them from being bounced out onto the street was that there had been even worse problems with younger women on the late shifts. It seemed that they quickly developed the habit of not only periodically undercharging but, horror of horrors, they actually gave out free coffee and donuts to their friends and acquaintances. In a very low voice the waitress also confided that some of them "even smoked dope" on the job.

The conversation then drifted into a discussion of the "lack of respect" for the uniform and "sloppy" work habits. The waitress' solution to this "problem" was to have management call the offender on the carpet and outline company policy to them finishing with the question "do you want to work here or not?" If the answer was affirmative the luckless employee should be given a written statement saying that he/she had been briefed on company policy and agreed to abide by it. The next offence would mean instant dismissal.

At this point a group of teenagers walked into the shop and the waitress again shot into action cheerfully joking and laughing. Thoroughly sickened I walked out. It's always depressing to see someone so wholeheartedly complicit in their own oppression. The only consolation I had was that this woman was obviously isolated from the other employees and no doubt her "ambition" would eventually place her on the proper side of the barricades. A slice of life and a cup of coffee to go please.

Cienfuegos Canada under attack

Since the establishment of Cienfuegos Press in Canada, as well as the formation of the Ottawa Anarchist Alliance, the authorities have not taken kindly to the new and growing Anarchist presence in the "Holy Capital." Aside from the usual phone buggings and such, the most regular and annoying form of harassment has been mail tampering. This isn't just opened mail but also returned mail which is often sent back to the sender with "No such box number" scrawled on it. Other mail just seems to mysteriously disappear from the postal system. In the last two months there have been 18 cases of mail being returned to sender that we know about. Ottawa is not a city distinguished by its level of radical activity and it is more than obvious that the intention of this harassment is to ensure that Revolutionary Anarchism does not gain a foothold in this up-until-now stagnant government city. Clearly the authorities would like to see Cienfuegos Press Canada perish for lack of orders, a strategy which is beginning to pay off as exasperated subscribers end up writing to Scotland for their books (and consequently paying approximately twice the price and often having to wait up to three times longer for delivery of their orders).

We are appealing to you to please not dispose of those returned letters! The post office can play dumb as long as we can't show them the

evidence... when we can do that the clash can commence! We are naturally aware that this practice happens everywhere, BUT WE WON'T STAND FOR IT! There is a growing interest in Anarchism and Cienfuegos Press in this city and we refuse to let the RCMP or anybody else involved put a stop to it. You can help by reporting any difficulties you have to us at (613) 233-5505. If you're really poor call collect and please make the hours more or less reasonable. We'll give you a safer address to send the returned mail to. This would be greatly appreciated. We feel too much State tampering has been taken for granted. Let's make the bastards shiver for once!

Cienfuegos Press Canada



Anarchist Women, Processed World,

Anarchist Women 1870-1920

Margaret S. Marsh

Anarchist Women 1870 - 1920

Margaret S. Marsh, Temple
University Press, 1981, 214 p.p.

Anarchist Women 1870-1920 by Margaret S. Marsh is an interesting and informative survey of the main features of anarchist-feminism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but at 174 pages of actual text it is a little thin considering the amount of material available and the time period covered. As a liberal academic with feminist pretensions Marsh provides a well balanced account of what distinguished the anarchist-feminists from their socialist and suffragette sisters and her treatment is fair and sympathetic throughout.

Marsh takes as her starting point the fact that over 100 years of feminist struggle has not substantially altered women's basic social inequality. Marsh recognizes that political and economic equality are necessary but not sufficient requirements for true equality and that women's domestic oppression must also be addressed. It is the anarchist-feminists early insistence on the primacy of domestic oppression which recommends them to Marsh's attention as she declares in her introduction: "The anarchist-feminists and their ideology possess a significance that extends beyond anarchism. The purpose of this study is not so much to examine anarchism through the lives of the women who espoused it as it is to understand the ways in which a group of women responded to the social, sexual, and economic upheavals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Marsh is willing to give anarchism a sympathetic hearing but it soon becomes evident that her primary interest is to strip-mine anarchist-feminism for 'ideas-and insights' while downplaying the merits of anarchism as a total critique. For Marsh the anarchist-feminists merely provide a missing ingredient in the feminist stew as she declares: "Among the anarchist women of a century ago we find the kind of serious probing of sexual and familial relationships that could serve as a preface to a new feminist analysis." Anarchism's contribution, like anarchism itself, must be firmly relegated to the past."

Accepting these limitations the reader can still glean a great deal from this book as Marsh does a competent job in re-creating the anarchist milieu in which the anarchist-feminists moved. In particular the rampant sexism of the male anarchist movement in the period under study and its deleterious effects on the efforts of the anarchist-feminists is well documented. Like most other

radicals of the time anarchist males devoted little attention to the "Woman Question" and even when they did address the question it was either in terms of the outright advocacy of patriarchy (Proudhon) or the more insidious insistence that women must subordinate their struggle to that of the workers (Kropotkin). The only anarchist periodical which enthusiastically supported the feminist was Moses Harman's newspaper, Lucifer, dedicated to the "emancipation of women from sex-slavery," and as Marsh points out he was widely regarded as a crank. The reluctance of men to accept women as full and equal partners in all areas of activity was a severe limitation on the development of anarchist-feminism. As Marsh rightly observes: "If the anarchist-feminist could not even convince their own comrades, their chances of reaching a larger audience were considerably diminished."

Despite this sexism Marsh makes it clear that anarchism was still the social theory most conducive to a truly radical critique of society and women's place within it. Anarchism's emphasis on the liberty of the individual, and personal autonomy provided a unique base from which to combat the sexist stereotyping of women within the radical movement and "although anarchism was by no means an expressly feminist ideology, it had the capacity to become so."

The radical sweep of anarchist-feminist ideology, especially their championing of free love and their attacks on marriage and the nuclear family, tended to isolate them even within the broader feminist movement. When Victoria Woodhull raised the issue of free love during a public speech in 1872 she was roundly denounced by such bourgeois feminists as Susan B. Anthony, of silver dollar fame, who had previously supported her in her fight for female emancipation. Anthony led the chorus of condemnation aimed at "the Woodhull" for daring to raise the issue of sexuality.

The cleavage between anarchist-feminists and the more moderate suffragettes was further deepened by the anarchist-feminists rejection of the fight for votes for women. As Voltairine De Cleyre stated, "the ballot hasn't made men free and it won't make us free." Emma Goldman was even more scathing in her rejection of female suffrage: "Suffrage is an evil... it has helped enslave people... it has but closed their eyes that they may not see how craftily they were made to submit."

The anarchist-feminists also had difficulty attracting women of more radical views to their movement. Most such women tended to gravitate towards the socialists rather than the anarchists. Marsh claims that this failure to attract radical women was not only because the anarchist-feminists failed to develop a sustained feminist analysis which would encompass the problems of class conflict, poverty, and violence in society as a whole, but also because they, unlike the socialists, were unable to provide an organizational framework for their feminism."

Marsh credits the socialists with having a more thoroughly worked out theory feminism. Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* and Bebel's *Woman Under Socialism* for example, than did the anarchists. But, she also points out, the light of historical hindsight has revealed profound flaws in these theories. Simone de Beauvoir, for example, found the Marxist

materialist position inadequate: "Historical materialism takes for granted facts that call for explanation... It cannot provide solutions for the problems we have raised, because these concern the whole man and not that abstraction: *Homo Economicus*."

The anarchist-feminists, by locating the locus of women's oppression in the patriarchal nuclear family and the sexual stereotyping of women in society, posed a much more profound critique than that put forward by the socialists. As Marsh concludes: "As long as women, because they are women, are principally responsible for the nurturing functions within the family and are the prime caretakers of children, their choices as human beings will be more circumscribed than those of men. The anarchist-feminists made their most radical contribution by declaring that if gender distinctions ought not to inhibit women from participating in the economic and political life of society, neither were they valid in determining roles within our most intimate institutions."

Unfortunately by attempting to isolate this particular contribution and implying that it can be lifted bodily from the totality of the anarchist critique of society to be plugged module-like into a new feminist analysis Marsh robs the idea of much of its radical content. The "new feminist analysis" which Marsh seeks has been around for a long time and it's still called anarchist-feminism.

Lazarus Jones

Processed World

55 Sutter Street, Suite 829,
San Francisco CA, 94104.
Quarterly, \$5.00/year.

Most of the lefties I've known over the years have done office work for a living. Despite all the rhetoric about the industrial proletariat, despite all the jabber about steel and auto, most of these folks end up behind a typewriter or a terminal.

That's not too surprising when you stop to think about it. Although I've written at some length about stupidities on the left, the fact is that lefties are usually fairly intelligent people. They can easily grasp that if one must live in class society, office work generally provides a less unpleasant existence than industrial labor. The characteristics of industrial labor are widely known: physical exhaustion, risk of violent disability and death, extremely unpleasant working conditions, constant quasi-military supervision, etc. The industrial working class is often the most militant section of the entire working class simply because they get the biggest pile of shit dumped on them.

In some circles, the "missionary" approach to the industrial working class is still considered feasible. You've probably run into them once or twice: people who get industrial jobs in order to spread the revolutionary gospel (usually according to Lenin) among the heathen savages. Many don't go that far: they get clerical jobs to support themselves but take their propaganda to some plant gate at six in the morning.

Until now, no one on the left has made an attempt to reach out to the "office workers that we ourselves work with every day. Until now, we've mostly treated the people that we should have been closest to as if they were invisible, as if they were no "real workers" like auto workers or steel workers were the only "real workers."

Now, two women in San Francisco

have produced the first issue of a projected quarterly called *Processed World* in the hope that "it will serve as a contact point for office workers who are dissatisfied with their lot in life and are seeking something better."

Manuscript found in a typewriter, the first of the five articles in the new journal, attempts to outline the social reality of wage labor by looking at what most people ignore: what actually happens on the job. Examining the "trivia" of "daily routine", the author concludes: "In a grotesque, democratized parody of the master/slave dialectic, there is always somebody taking orders from somebody else."

In *New Information Technology: For What?*, the author explores the use of modern office technology against the interests of office workers and discusses the possibilities of computer technology in a classless society. NAA readers will not be surprised to learn that I particularly appreciate this piece.

To San Francisco, 1987—Would You Believe It? I have to say no. But this elaborate fantasy of a municipal insurrection led by office workers was, in a small way, quite moving. If the people that you and I see every day at work were suddenly to rebel, their rebellion might very well look something like this piece. And it is difficult to argue against the idea that it is only when we can clearly see how it would be possible to rebel successfully that we can then make our rebellion a reality.

The new journal also includes articles on an office workers strike in San Francisco and on the shitty movie *9 to 5*. The graphics and layout are quite professional.

I do have some criticisms of *Processed World*. The language in some of the articles, though clearer than that used in most left publications, is still dependent on traditional left terminology. We still have a long way to go to learn how to express libertarian ideas in the every-day language that people use.

Another element that seemed, for the most part, to be missing was the expression of rage that I feel and that many office workers I know feel about their jobs. Office workers really do have fantasies about killing their bosses.

And, of course, how could office workers begin to struggle? Do we go the traditional trade union route (assuming we can find one willing to die us)? Or can there be other, better possibilities?

The emergence of *Processed World* is a first step toward answering this question.

Frank Stevens

LOVE & RAGE

Carl Harp, Pulp Press
1981, 73 p.p., \$3.95

Love & Rage is a powerful, provocative statement by a prison militant depicting the continuous struggle of prisoners against the most oppressive conditions anywhere in North America. Covering a time span of less than a year Carl Harp's personal accounts are absorbing leaving the reader with a deep-felt sense of horror. So much so that it is hard to imagine how even the most unsympathetic person could not be swayed by the brutality described.

The capacity of the diary entries to arouse indignation against the penal system is most acutely evident in the conveyance of the emotional highs and lows Carl Harp experiences from one day to the next. The highs often being stimulated by victories against

the system and the reign of terror by the guards and especially the peak moments of unity among the inmates. The lows arise from moments of defeat and feelings of empathy with those enduring the worst consequences of the system.

Through it all is Carl Harp's determination to never capitulate. There is an unmistakable impression left by his words that the continuous struggle he is engaged in has become his central motivation for continuing to live. What other interpretation is possible given statements such as, "I have been assaulted repeatedly in every manner possible on all levels of my being, even raped with riot sticks. I have died a thousand and one deaths, and I have seen everything

You are coming
to attend the
of the



Just don't
of

On Wednesday, July twenty-ninth one, the Prince of Wales and Laa Westminster Cathedral. On the s entitled 'What Wedding?' will be announced. For more information the Enthronement of Prince Ed Whitechapel High Street, London tie.

*You are cordially invited
to attend the non-event
of the century*



*Just don't get out
of line*

On Wednesday, July twenty-ninth, Nineteen hundred and eighty one, the Prince of Wales and Lady Diana Spencer will be mated at Westminster Cathedral. On the same day a grand anarchist festival entitled 'What Wedding?' will be held in London at a venue yet to be announced. For more information contact The Committee for the Enthronement of Prince Edward c/o Freedom Press, 84B Whitechapel High Street, London E1. The non-event will be black tie.

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Media

Love & Rage

imaginable, including death." To most if not all of us death itself would be a far better alternative.

Love & Rage was published to motivate people within the prison system and outside of it to give active support to the anti-prison movement. A statement as profound as this may succeed where other approaches have met with very limited success.

Love & Rage similarly adds to the mountain of evidence attesting to the dismal failure of the penal system as a response to the problem of anti-social behavior in human society. Thereby it posits the need for workable alternatives which are neither naive nor inhumane.

Brian Amesley

ially invited
non-event
century



Kurt Russell as 'Snake' Plissken leads parade of Macho leading men in movie summer silly season.

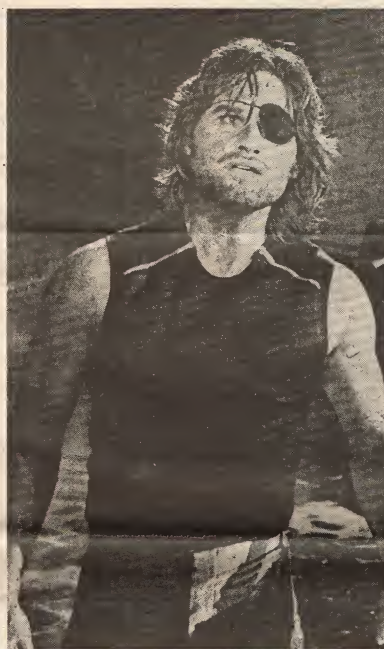
OUTLAND

Outland starts out interestingly enough with a rank-n-file discussion among a couple of outer space miners on management's attempts to increase automation in violation of the contract and the inability of their shop steward to do anything about it. Unfortunately any illusions the viewer might have about this movie addressing the increasing automation of work are soon dissipated as Outland swiftly degenerates into a standard space opera. Outland is High Noon in space with Sean Connery reprising Gary Cooper's role as the only law west of Mars.

Connery plays a federal district marshal assigned to a mining operation on Io a moon of Jupiter. When the miners start doing odd things like pulling out their own oxygen tubes and walking out the wrong ends of air-locks in their underwear Connery's suspicions are aroused.

With the help of a "crusty" female medical technician he traces the source of this strange behaviour to an illegal amphetamine that some of the miners are using to make their labour easier and more bearable. The drug has the unfortunate side effect of burning out the brains of its users after nine months of use. Along the way Connery's wife walks out on him via a video Dear John letter and he finds that his second-in-command is part of the drug ring. The rot, of course, goes right to the top, soon Cooper/Connery is all alone awaiting the arrival of the bad guys on the moon stage/shuttle.

Nineteen hundred and eighty Diana Spencer will be mated at the day a grand anarchist festival held in London at a venue yet to be contacted The Committee for d/c to Freedom Press, 84B 51. The non-event will be black



standby: "Never have the mean streets of New York looked as mean and dirty as in....."

The plot of *Escape From New York*, if it can be called such, is that the year is 1997 and New York has been transformed into a giant maximum security prison. The president's airplane has been hijacked and crashlanded in New York, the mission — get him out alive in time to attend a major peace conference. The world's toughest man, Snake Plissken, is implanted with a time bomb and entrusted with the task, yawn, in exchange for a full pardon. The film unfolds with awesome predictability, the requisite number of plot complications and bodies are stacked up, leading ponderously and inevitably to Snake and the president's "escape from New York."

The points of interest in a turkey this bad are purely incidental to the movie itself. For example: our man Snake is an ex-war hero who picked up a purple heart in Siberia and was also involved in a commando strike on Leningrad, China and Russia, it seems, have finally gotten back together and are waging an inconclusive conventional war against America. Its nice to know that in the post-detente world of the B-Movie the enemy is no longer the ephemeristic "other side" but Soviet Russia plain and simple.

The hijacker who puts the "plot" in motion is a member of the "National Liberation Front of America" and the turgid cut-and-paste rhetoric addressed to "the workers" is gratifyingly familiar. The distorted echo of Red Brigades/Red Army Faction "revolutionary" verbiage underlines the utter isolation of those who have taken the terrorist path.

Even the "comic relief" in *Escape From New York*, which if properly handled might have at least made the movie entertaining, is hackneyed and lifeless. From Ernest Borgnine as the last cable in New York to the ex-crutiatingly inevitable "I Love New

York" graffiti on the city's crumbling walls all the lines and gags are absolutely predictable. Faced with such an inexorable flood of unoriginality why resist the inescapable comment? *Escape this movie!*

RAIDERS OF THE LOST ARK

This film could do for archeology what *All The President's Men* did for journalism. If hordes of eager young students start flocking to sign up for Archeology 101 courses *Raiders of the Lost Ark* will be at least partially responsible.

Harrison Ford stars as Indiana Jones a rough, tough, "devil-may-care" archeologist who is recruited by the U.S. secret service to prevent the lost Ark of the Covenant from falling into the evil hands of the Nazis. The film is excellently edited and zips dandily along from the opening scene to the closing credits with scarcely a pause for breath in between. In fact the film is so artfully put together that you're tempted to ignore the rather nasty undertone which runs throughout the film.

My father used to tell me that when he was a truck driver with the British Army in Malaya, just after the Second World War, there was an unofficial policy that instructed Army drivers, in the case of an accident involving a native, to back up and make sure that the victim was dead. A one-time only death benefit was much cheaper for the British administration than a survivor's pension. That sort of attitude permeates *Raiders of the Lost Ark*.

In the movie the inhabitants of the countries through which Jones cuts such a broad swath are treated as being as inconsequential as stray chickens or inanimate objects. Jones runs over, shoots down (in self defense, of course) and generally manhandles "the natives" with a totally reckless abandon. The implicit racism of such an attitude mars what is an otherwise enjoyable piece of summer fluff.

New And Recommended

Louise Michel
Edith Thomas, Black Rose Books, 1980, 444 p.p., \$9.95
A biography of Louise Michel the French Anarchist and *petroleuse* best known for her role in the Paris Commune of 1871 written by a biographer well aware of the perils and pitfalls of hagiography.

Main Currents Of Marxism
Leszek Kolakowski, Oxford University Press, 1981, 3 volumes, \$9.95 each

A paperback edition of Kolakowski's monumental critique of Marxism. From the roots of Marx's thought in early Christian philosophy to Stalinism and Maoism Kolakowski systematically dissects the Marxist body politic and takes as his conclusion that: "Marxism has been the greatest fantasy of our century."

History of Work Cooperation In America
John Curl, Homeward Press, 1980, 64 p.p., \$3.75

An excellent short survey of cooperativism in America from the colonial era to the present. Available from: Homeward Press, P.O. Box 2307, Berkeley, CA 94702, USA.

Campaign Against The Model West Germany
The Atomic State and the People Who have to Live in It
1981, 44 p.p., 20c

An improved reprint of the first English translation of this document on the nuclear aspect of the "Model" West Germany. Available from: Box 282, Station E, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H2T 3A7. Please enclose 25c for postage and handling.

Protest Without Illusions

Vernon Richards, Freedom Press, 1981, 168 p.p., £1.95

With the massive resurgence of anti-nuclear protest in Europe this book is very timely. It consists of reprints of articles published in *Freedom* magazine during the late '50s and early '60s on the CND marches and Committee of 100 Sit-Downs protesting nuclear weapons. As the author states: "at least some of the new generation of protestors may start from where the others left off rather than all over again from the beginning. The forces of repression learnt from their experience."

On Class and Culture Part Two: Domination and party politics

By B. Newbold

Domination could well be the end of us. It perverts justice into revenge. Domination makes the law of the jungle second nature and it encourages us to drink coffee. Its completely senseless.

When a part of society is enslaved in the service of others it appears as if producers are related only indirectly to each other as buyers and sellers. Here is the real beginning of rationality as the organizing principle of society as a whole. From then on labour of each and every kind is exploited and reduced to money-making.

And so work loses its specificity. Fit for anything, fit for nothing. The quality of life recedes into the background of a purely quantitative existence. One thing's supposed as good as another provided only that each is present in sufficient magnitude. Living by numbers. A night of the living dead.

To the extent that domination or money-making seizes control of production, the technique and social organization of the labour process are revolutionized and with them the prevailing forms of social consciousness.

We are dealing here with two spheres in politics. The world of labour on the one side and the arena of culture, with the state its acme, on the other. Today these spheres are connected politically in the voluntary associations called parties. Parties have become the practical organizations of the class relations of labour and determine the scope of the state.

The party is a specific social relationship. It is the concrete organ of class. This political form of labour relations is at once the expression of social labour, or work done for another, and the underlying reality of all idealistic superstructure including the state.

Rational society is about political parties. The latter are the modern form of classes and embrace the whole of commercial and industrial life as well as constituting their general forms in consciousness.

In Struggle! (ISI) is a Marxist-Leninist political party. An analysis of ISI will permit the formulation of a general historical law of politics. This will provide an index for understanding ISI and its impact on the class struggle in Canada.

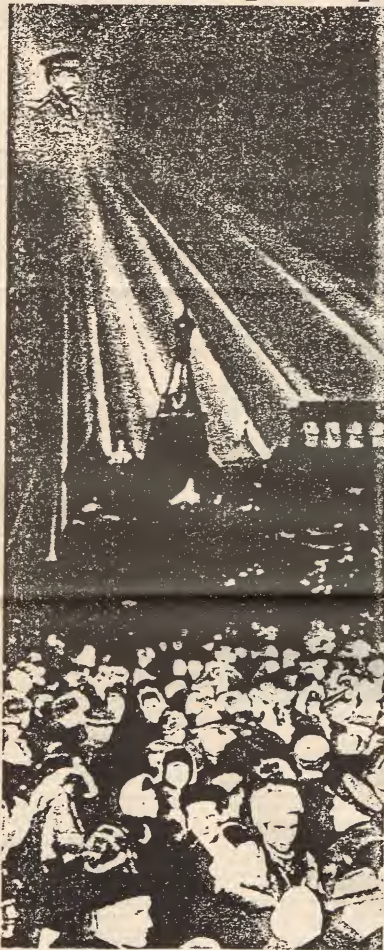
Three Conditions

At least three related historical conditions are common to all parties in this century. They are the stability of industrial national voting patterns since at least 1945 in a period of political change, a party form frozen in the social structure of the 1920s and parties' construction of a regional patron-client relation to exchange patronage for support in political campaigns.

In sum parties are conditioned by the uneven or regional development inherent in modern industrial society. For example, the characteristic difference in outlook between industrial and commercial regions in Canada has encouraged national parties to entrench themselves in provincial alliances.

In the case of ISI, this tendency to entrench an organization on the basis of provincial funding sources is indicated both by its top-down organizing approach in external work with different mass movements and its central committee's internal authority over the day-to-day tasks of the ISI membership.

Regional funding promotes this hierarchy and elite accommodation because it perpetuates regional in-



Apotheosis of a Leader

At the saint of Stalin's 70th birthday, a slide of him was projected onto a huge searchlight, which was in turn focused on a low cloud over Red Square. The result was photographed for the cover of *Ogoniok* (Moscow), No. 52, December 1949.

terests and marshals the membership in accordance with them. As the economic basis of the party organization these interests decide a great deal of any party's policy. So a pertinent inquiry is who owns the given party? In other words how is a party financed? The formal side of this question is how does a party derive its support in modern industrial society? What is the party's effect on the current agencies of the state? This requires an explanation of political culture.

Therefore two of the key concerns of this investigation are the organization and financing of ISI. These are historical concerns. This consideration of history is necessary because so little is known about the empirical character of ISI. And if we can uncover that particular history it will allow us to understand the present socio-

rank and privilege. Colonialist policies encouraged its development in the Canadas.

Tory fragment

The tory cultural fragment is a particular form of social consciousness which has historically corresponded with the tendency to solve the problems of private enterprise by state means. That tendency was crystallized in the aftermath of the unsuccessful rebellion of 1837. A contemporary example of toryist influence would be the imposition of the War Measures Act in October, 1970. Another is the tory character of the Liberal Party's strategy which was able to co-opt much of the support for radical measures by instituting public control over welfare measures during the 1940's and by granting trade union rights to workers, under state supervision. These measures served at once as a basis for new capital accumulation programmes, by buying labour peace, and they legitimated the state at the same time by the use of Keynesian fiscal policy.

The masses are given values bureaucratically while the corporate elite is subjected to a form of egalitarian patronage in the redistribution of public resources. That explains the contemporary protests by rank and file party workers in traditional parties against the civil service merit system. ISI can be understood in terms of this rank and file discontent with the inadequacies of bureaucratic patronage.

ISI's major campaigns have been conducted against what they call the 'crisis measures'. A key tension of this organization experience has been the bureaucratization of clientage politics in Quebec. One employee of ISI recalled that he was first attracted to the organization during their intervention to prevent day-care cutbacks in Montreal in 1974. This was a very early campaign by ISI.

ISI's leading bodies have no financial relation with corporate economic power. The cynical may well attribute this to the fact that ISI does not stand for election to parliament. And ISI does not control public resources. A central concern of this article will be to disclose the financial sources of ISI in detail. Here two remarks on the subject will suffice. One method of financing the organization is through newspaper sales and appeals through the paper for donations. This is displacing a more original method of financing. That method involved membership contributions. These include dues as well as extra funds at times for special projects.

ISI can be classified according to the organized relation between its parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activities. This organizational continuity can be described by a specific characteristic of ISI. It is a 'front'. This type of organization is incapable of, rather than unwilling to, engage in elections. The core activity of the group is therefore extra-parliamentary agitation and propaganda. The distance of ISI from electoral office and capital, in a context where political clientage and administrative bureaucracy have been the norm, enhances the party's extra-parliamentary apparatus. The implications of that party structure can be disclosed by studying the practical and theoretical precedents for this political group.

Theory and practice

The theory and practice of the working class in Canada can be

examined by reference to their origin, internal division, the uneven development of town and country and nationalism. It was the newly arrived craftsmen from Britain, and later Europe, who practically founded the trade union movement in late nineteenth century Canada. The movement was also influenced by the emergence of the United States socialist current.

Socialism, broadly defined, is the theory of the working class under the conditions which prevail in modern industrial society. It is historically related to urbanization. Urbanization involves pitting manufacturing interests against agricultural interests. Urbanization means regional development.

One implication of this bourgeois development was the uneven proletarianization of mental and manual labour. The impact of this unevenness persists today in the distance which mental labourers maintain from the struggle of their class. The opposition of mental labourers to manual labourers is closely associated with a material interest and its defense. The theory of socialism has never overcome this opposition decisively. That is because socialism as a theory was not created by workers but by some of the foremost intellectuals of the nineteenth century.

This explains why socialist theory has not been a general expression of the real historical movement of the proletariat since at least the early twentieth century. It is the 'ideology of bourgeois intellectuals' introduced into the workers' movement from outside'. Leninism expresses this political practice.

The Leninist model of socialism is positivist and embodies naively realistic ideas. The historical relationship between this theory and the workers' practical movement has not been basically changed to this day. This theory is related to the practice of trade union organizing and hence the political struggle for democracy. This model had sources which were not rooted in Canada. It was an external model. The Leninist model defends a temporary, local necessity rather than criticizing its historical limits. This theory gained prominence in the workers' movement just as actual revolutionary struggles suffered setbacks. Historically this particular form of social consciousness is related to periods of industrial expansion and capitalistic stabilization.

The expansion of industrial capital in Quebec during the 1960's conditioned the growth of the proletariat at the same time as the agencies of the state in Quebec were modified. This was accomplished by the re-emergence of a mass nationalist or democratic movement in Quebec. This was the specific historical context in which ISI emerged. ISI has, therefore, an historical background similar to earlier Leninist parties and that is why it maintains a positivist theory, a democratic political outlook and an emphasis on trade union rights in its practical work.

However, you can't beat uneven development by feigning heavy industry and its work-force over and against so called small production as the sectoralist economic strategy of the 'front' type like ISI are wont to do. This only treats uneven development as an eternal part of the human condition.

Uneven development is an historical condition. It is the product of tory traditions. This is the tradition of using the police to protect the bourgeoisie's interest from

El Salvador and Poland: Two paths to Revolution

We must choose between two paths: the road of El Salvador, of a lethal sidetrack into capitalist politics which is actually a prelude to world war, or the road of Poland, of mass and autonomous confrontation against the capitalist state.

For the past several months since the proclamation of the Left's "final offensive", we have witnessed a further scourge of capitalist brutality in El Salvador. Within the countryside the guerrillas are completely on the defensive, having been sacrificed for "reasons of (capitalist) state" as the modern-day La Passionaria, Ana Guadalupe Martinez, will argue. The F.D.R. now cynically admits that its meager military of-

fensive was nothing but a bargaining play against the Duarte Junta, with the corpses of Salvadoran youth used as their ante.

Always ready to mediate between bourgeois factions, the Catholic Church has moved away from its previous blanket support of the Left to the more familiar position of moderate governmental "reform, re: statified capitalism. And this stance is amiable with the

Stalinist F.M.L.N. & the Sandinistas as well.

The Reagan Administration wasted no time in putting its house in order in El Salvador. A large propaganda effort to document alleged "Soviet intervention" began in February; \$10 million in new military hardware was rushed in bringing the total current commitment to \$35 million. The equipment included helicopters, trucks, jeeps, surveillance gear, heavy machine-guns, M-16 rifles, & M-79 grenade launchers; 56 military trainers, among them green berets, have also been ordered in. With the incontrovertible logic of an MX missile, the right-wing portion of the U.S. imperialist ruling-class has convinced its brethren of the left, & their counterparts abroad, of the present dead-cold "correctness" (as Haig might utter it) of the over-kill formula.

Economic aid to the Duarte regime, desperately needed to finance the state-supervised collectivization of the big agricultural estates, has been upped to \$100 million. Government officials, temporarily outflanking the Left, are touring the countryside, led by the demagogue Morales Echarri, extolling this "land reform" program; for the rural proletariat, the State is the new patron. National elections have been promised in

'82. Meanwhile, in San Salvador the terror of the rightist death squads, abetted by the government, goes on and on.

Here in North America, the Leftist politicians have also been enjoying an ideological field day of their own. The liberals, Social Democrats & Stalinists, true to form, have revived the old Viet Nam popular-front-for-world-capitalism atmosphere. Under the tight, bureaucratic auspices of the "Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador" (C.I.S.P.E.S.), various "legal and peaceful" (what else?) marches and vigils have been staged. Liberal politicians are basking in the popular spectacle; Kennedy, odds-on-favorite for the "progressive" U.S. bourgeoisie in 1984, has introduced legislation to suspend military aid and recall the military advisers in El Salvador. Not one to miss a good show, the Church has gotten into the act, too.

The sole organizing platform of C.I.S.P.E.S. is "self-determination" by which they simply mean the Left to state power. Anyone who foolishly attempts to raise even a semblance of proletarian class positions ("But how dare you?") like the Trotskyists or the anarchists has been threatened and/or excluded from their mendacious activities. The repressive arm of the C.I.S.P.E.S. gang are merely a mild harbinger of what the F.D.R. would do with a fury to the Salvadorean proletariat if it ever obtained a monopoly of state violence.

Another facet of the liberal/left hysteria over El Salvador is the so-called "Argentina connection"—an ominous, rightist conspiracy to bolster the draconian regimes in Honduras and Guatemala by a massive infusion of military goods from South America. The specter of the Right, along with the hoopla about the paramilitary units of Nicaraguan and Cuban exiles in Florida, is part and parcel of a developing leftist campaign at *anti-fascist mystification* precisely at a time when the class struggle in North America against the Reagan austerity is about to commence. All of these leftist machinations are just so much ideological junk to be thrown away by the awakening proletariat.

We must all choose between these two paths: the road of El Salvador, of a lethal sidetrack onto capitalist politics, which is actually a prelude to world war, or the road of Poland, of mass and autonomous confrontation against the capitalist state. For the revolutionaries the choice is clear. The tasks at hand now are not to immerse oneself into any popular leftist sewer, but to diligently and confidently work for: 1. political and organizational regroupment on a global scale, and 2. interventions with a genuine revolutionary, international perspective in the *real class battles* going on here in North America & around the planet, all of which are surely about to intensify.

Ontario hospital contract rough justice

By Brian Ames

Ontario's non-medical hospital workers have little to be pleased with in their new arbitration-imposed contract. With average wage increases of 2.4% over two years and only modest improvements in fringe benefits they will at most do no more than match the ever rising cost of living.

The contract effectively guarantees the continuation of their underpaid status. Wages which averaged only \$6.64 per hour will rise to a whopping \$8.29 per hour as of June 1, 1982. This rate will remain in effect until the expiration of the contract four months later.

Furthermore, the arbitration chairperson, Paul Weiler, flatly rejected the key union demand for a COLA clause. Had this been won it would have represented a major breakthrough for all hospital workers. This was precisely the reason for its rejection. With respect to the dispute over increased workload due to provincial government cutbacks Weiler similarly gave up no ground.

In total, the terms of the contract barely exceed those which the workers overwhelmingly rejected by deciding to strike in defiance of Ontario law which forbids them to do so. Weiler left no doubt as to the rationale for the terms imposed. He cited the lack of real economic growth in the province as evidence of why the real income of all Ontario residents is down 2%.

In other words, the current economic crisis demands that workers not expect to make substantial gains. This applies to all workers including those like non-medical hospital workers who are among the most underpaid.

No less disturbing is the arbitrator's hands-off response to the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) demand for protection against management reprisals. This in the face of repression employed against thousands of the

striking non-medical hospital workers including the firing of 36. The fates of these workers is left in the benevolent hands of the grievance procedure which is where Weiler maintains their before.

Legal Repression

The latest consequences arising from the strike are the decisions on the charges of contempt of court which were laid against CUPE leaders for not complying with injunctions ordering a return to work. CUPE National President Grace Hartman's 45 day jail sentence and lesser ones passed out to other CUPE officials amount to yet more attacks on the right to strike. This is ironic indeed since Hartman and other top CUPE officials did so little to build the strike action last January.

Predictably, the response of the rest of the trade union movement has been pathetic. This was also the case during the actual strike. One notable exception has been a UAW local in St. Catharines which passed a resolution advocating a one hour national work stoppage to support Hartman. But this initiative is unlikely to receive much support elsewhere even though it is hardly radical.

Significantly, this situation stands in stark contrast to the outcome of similar events in Poland earlier this year. When five Solidarity members were fired for union activity in a Lodz hospital the regional branch of Solidarity responded with a general strike. It was a complete success as the dismissed workers were quickly re-instated. Certainly it is true that CUPE does not enjoy the same level of popular support as Solidarity but nonetheless if it employed similar tactics of direct action the results could not help but be much more fruitful than they have been in their absence.

Strike means to push back, pull out or break off the range of Capitalism. W.D. Heywood



Class and Culture

Continued from Pg. 10

other private interests of modern society such as the proletariat. That close association between the state and the business class as a whole has promoted third party

protest movements because the ruling class parties do a poor job of voicing the concerns of the subordinate classes. In the past these third parties have combined a nationalist theory and a practice of organizing trade unions and co-ops in a democratic political platform

to oppose the ruling class. But the reformist strategy has been a failure because the bourgeoisie still had the guns and so was able to pacify these oppositions and proceed with the accumulation of capital.

ISI is a recently developed third party protest movement which emerged during the expansion of industrial capital in Quebec during the 1960's and 1970's. That is its political impact thus far on the class struggle. It is organized as a front. It is financed by membership dues, newspaper subscriptions and personal as well as group donations, solicited at picnics, county fairs, rallies, shopping centres and homes by local cells of the organization.

ISI will not succeed in advancing more revolutionary demands until it abandons the mechanical rational ideology of Leninism in order to smash the wages system once and for all. However it may well be that this process is beginning in ISI. This is indicated by their renewed criticism of communists as a factor in the class struggle theoretically and by their practical efforts to encourage the development of a working class policy in the unions which is independent from state restrictions on the freedom of association. But that is politically insufficient. A printed message detailing police abuses is not enough. What is needed is the development of some sort of protest which can disarm the ruling class. In Part 3 of this serial the discussion of ISI's attempts to build a revolutionary party will continue by means we have outlined in this installment.



Romania: Another crack in the Soviet block?

By Brian Amesley

During the massive strike wave in Poland this past summer reports filtered through to some of the Western Press about the occurrence of scattered strikes in Romania. These strikes were a clear indicator of why Romania can be viewed as the East European state most susceptible to the Polish "contagion."

The one thing which is most commonly noted as distinguishing Romania from the rest of the Soviet block is its relatively independent foreign policy. Romania first broke ranks with the USSR in the early 1960's by taking a neutral stance in the Sino-Soviet conflict. This amounted to a rejection of the Soviet claim to be the leader of the international communist movement. A few years later Romania angered the USSR by not supporting the invasion of Czechoslovakia and more recently it did not give its approval to the military occupation of Afghanistan.

But realizing there are limits to how much deviation the USSR will tolerate the Romanian government has counter-balanced its foreign policy by close adherence to the Soviet system internally. The reasons for this can, in large part, be seen from the evolution of the regime.

CP Weak

The ruling Communist Party completely owes its hold over state power to the USSR. As a political force in the mid-1940's it was insignificant. So much so that its total membership in 1944 did not exceed one thousand. Small-though the Communist Party was the Soviet Red Army assured it of a major role in the post-war coalition government. It then skillfully used this position to gain complete control. Once this was accomplished the Communist Party's 'revolution' involving extensive industrial nationalization, agricultural collectivization and Stalinist terror was carried out.

Since the regime's power was not built upon popular support it has tried to compensate for this by appealing to Romanian nationalism. This largely explains the motivation for its 'independent' foreign policy. Nationalism is also closely inter-related to the use of Stalinist personality cults. Consequently, Romania's current leader Nicolai Ceausescu has a cult around him which portrays him as 'the most beloved son of the fatherland'.

Rapid Industrialization

These characteristics of the regime reflect its basic conservatism and similarity to the USSR. Likewise, there is great stress on rapid industrialization of the economy through the development of heavy industry. Consumer goods production has been a secondary consideration. As a result the real income of the Romanian workers and peasants has increased little throughout the life of the regime.

An important consequence of the industrialization drive has been the marked change in the country's



The spectre of invasion: Hungary 1956, a rebel stands in front of a line of dead Soviet soldiers.

class composition. At the time of the Communist 'revolution' the majority of Romanians were peasants while the workers were comparatively few in number. They now constitute the majority. Even so over a third of the population is still peasant.

While it grew the Romanian working class was not a bastion of militance. Nonetheless, the scattered strikes of last summer have had important precedents revealing its increasing social power.

During the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 worker unrest briefly manifested itself on a small scale. This coincided with student disturbances and sympathy for the revolution next door on the part of intellectuals from Romania's oppressed Hungarian minority which endures a considerable burden of discrimination. The combined effects sent shock waves throughout the regime. It responded with economic concessions and short-lived reforms in order to defuse the situation.

Logically, the Romanian government fully endorsed the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution as did all of the then allies of the USSR. This revealed an important limitation on the extent to which it will deviate from Soviet policy. For when the stability of the Romanian state is called into question Romanians cease to be very 'independent.'

Miners' Strike

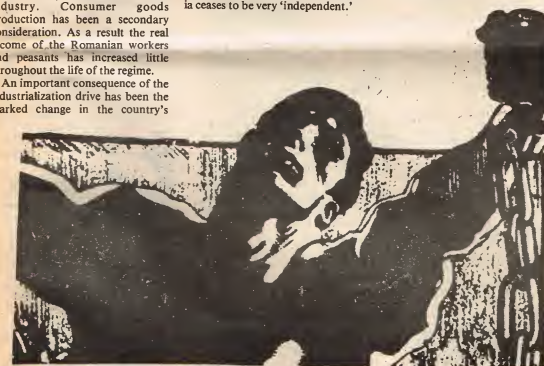
The most powerful workers' revolt to date occurred in August 1977. Some 35,000 Jui Valley coal miners staged a massive strike which shook Ceausescu's regime. The action was provoked by a new pension law which the miners saw as an attack on their standard of living. During the strike demands that it be revoked were soon complemented by many others. These included the implementation of a six hour work day, the abolition of unpaid compulsory overtime, better working conditions and action to relieve food shortages.

When the government's Labour Minister and another official arrived on the scene they ended up being held captive in a mining pit. The workers thus forced Ceausescu to intervene personally which interrupted a vacation at his private resort. When he arrived he faced a mass assembly of striking miners for five hours. All the while voices in the crowd heaped scorn upon him.

Ceausescu defused the situation by promising economic concessions and a guarantee of no reprisals for the strike. But along with the carrot he also raised the stick raising the possibility of Soviet intervention.

The promises made by Ceausescu

See Romania Pg. 14



Prison News

Pontiac Victory

On Saturday, May 9th, a jury of seven Blacks and five whites acquitted all ten Pontiac Brothers on trial for murder of three white guards during a prison uprising on July 22, 1978. After a trial lasting more than two months the jury took less than five hours to reach "not guilty" verdicts on all 57 charges before them.

The acquittals were all the more significant given the usual irregularities in such cases. The judge denied 400 defence pre-trial motions: The judge selected jurors who had no qualms about the death penalty; the state paid former Pontiac inmates cash sums to testify, one witness received almost \$10,000. Other ex-prisoner witnesses were threatened with prosecution themselves if they didn't give the desired testimony. Many of the "eyewitness" accounts differed not only as to the identity of the prisoners involved but as to the sequence of events and the places where the various attacks were supposed to have taken place. One example of the implausibility of the State's case as a whole is that at least six prisoners were identified as having stabbed Lt. Thomas, one of the dead guards — but Thomas only received three stab wounds.

The state developed a conspiracy theory to explain the uprisings and the subsequent killings. Supposedly, after several months of gang conflicts, these gangs decided to bury the hatchet and to go in and kill the guards and "roll on the administration" at a meeting in the middle of the yard with hundreds of witnesses around.

To make this story wash, special prosecutor Algis Baulinas told the jurors over and over that they had to understand "their mentality," that "I know it's hard for some of you to put yourself in 'their mentality', they're no different from one another." In short, Baulinas' appeal was dripping with racism — all the defendants were Black — with the claim that "those guys" are different, less human, all the same, vicious, etc. This is the traditional method of getting convictions when the evidence isn't there. In this case, Baulinas told the jury that they had to "use your imagination" and that "some of the most telling testimony also comes from inferences."

Fortunately, the jury was not convinced.

Pay Lower

That well known "reform" minded institution, the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) has come up with a real winner this time. They recently announced a pay rise for prisoners which will essentially result in more work for fewer goods. Figures provided by Statistics Canada show that "the average single wage earner spends about 85% of his or her income on shelter, food, medical needs, taxes, furnishings, education and transportation. The remaining 15% is considered disposable income." Hence the daily disposable income for someone receiving the federal minimum wage — computed for six hours of work per day — would be \$3.15. With "taxes" taken off — compulsory savings and welfare and recreation fund — a prisoner will end up with \$9.95 per week whereas before the increase, the same person working in a shop could earn his bonus slightly over fifteen dollars per week. Significantly prices have gone up for canteen supplies, a carton of cigarettes will now cost \$9.50 as compared to 4.50 before.

Prisoners unable to work due to being in the Special Handling Units or administrative segregation will receive a maximum of \$6.00 per week which is no increase at all but they are facing the same escalated prices. And pay for prisoners in psychiatric units will be paid according to criteria such as "attitude, performance, cooperation, attendance and conduct."

A prisoner will no longer be able to receive any money from friends or relatives. Such money will be placed in a savings account in a black humour attempt to increase a prisoner's nest egg for the day she or he hits the street to help them avoid re-incarceration. Similarly any money that a prisoner brings into prison will be impounded until the day of release. These measures effectively preclude prisoners from using their own money or that of friends or relatives to purchase sports equipment, hobby craft material, or even shampoo, stamps, etc.

Already one of the two prison uprisings in British Columbia in early June was tied to the "pay raise" dispute. Three hundred prisoners at the medium security Matsqui institution destroyed about fifty per cent of the prison, including a part of the administration building, a cafeteria, an auditorium, a storeroom, most of the four wings of the residential complex, the prison chapel, and a number of huts on the recreational grounds.

At least 100 troops were brought in from the Canadian Forces Base at nearby Chilliwack as well as riot police and other reinforcements from nearby detachments. In an obvious psychological ploy, the riot police marched on the prison bearing their batons against their shields. Control of the prison was surrendered the next morning when an ultimatum giving the prisoners fifteen minutes to decide what they were going to do was read over the loudspeakers. Already in the wake of this riot and a minor disturbance at Kent the CSC has announced the programmes will be reduced across the country because people think the prisoners have it too easy. The CSC fears a long hot summer ahead.

People's Run

The People's Run for Leonard Peltier - Free the People - Free the Land will cover a total distance of 710 miles over much of New York State. It will begin at Buffalo, N.Y. and end ten to twelve days later in See Prison News Pg. 15

Continued from Pg. 2

Wear Green

Direct Action

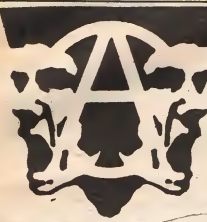
Tolerance

Romania

New Union Crushed

Challenge

GOODBYE TO ALL THAT



Libertarian Notes

The Spook Has Landed

Do you believe in coincidence? Do you really believe that a U.S. government "communications officer" just happens by chance to be assigned to the world hot-spots at the most critical moments? Do you think it's just happenstance that he's coming to Vancouver right after the CIA's man here had his cover blown?

Well, meet Charles Jones, a 40-year-old Detroit native, and the newest member of the U.S. consul-general's staff in Vancouver, B.C.

Jones, who starts his new job in July, was the only black American to be held hostage in Iran for the entire 444 days, having arrived in Teheran just two months before the Iranians stormed the U.S. embassy. The U.S. has admitted that four of the hostages were CIA agents brought in at the last minute to try to destabilize the regime, but only three of the agents have ever been identified publicly.

What better candidate for The Fourth Man than Jones? His previous assignments include being one of the last U.S. employees to depart Saigon in 1975, and before that he arrived in Cairo in 1967, just in time for the Arab-Israeli Six Day War. He comes to Vancouver shortly after consular official Tom Marquis was unmasked as a CIA agent when his home at 4737 Cambie was sprayed with slogans like "CIA Out of Canada." Marquis has already admitted working as a "psychological warfare" advisor in Vietnam.

The coincidences are mounting up. Why not call the U.S. consulate (685-4311) and ask Marquis or consul-general Robert Moore why we are being honoured with the CIA presence. And to stay current on CIA shenanigans around the world, check out Counterspy magazine (\$10 per year from box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, DC 20044). The

current May-July issue has a takedown on RCMP-CIA links. (From BC BLACKOUT, Number 37).

They're Gonna Put Him In The Movies

Lech Walesa could soon be coming to a theatre near you thanks to a recently released Polish movie entitled Man of Iron which won the top prize at this year's Cannes film festival. The film, directed by Andrzej Wajda, is a re-enactment of the Gdansk shipyard strike which led to the formation of Solidarity. It "stars" Walesa, playing himself, and 500 of the workers who were present at the signing of the Gdansk accords.

The awarding of the top prize to Man of Iron drew a predictable response from the Soviet gerontocracy which declared through its mouthpiece Izvestia that "It is now possible to maintain with certainty that the decision of the (festival) jury was purely a political action." It also came as no surprise that Izvestia labelled the film "anti-socialist."

Man of Iron is a sequel to a previous film by Wajda called Man of Marble which dealt with the 1970 workers uprising in Poland. A print of this film, with English sub-titles, will soon be released for distribution in North America. It is to be hoped that we won't have to wait quite as long for an English print of Man of Iron.

Trouble In Paradise?

The vision of Japan as a land of benevolent managers and contented workers was dealt a sharp blow recently when three Japanese autoworkers attempted to organize around their oppression. The three workers, employees of the giant

Nissan automotive company, tried to pass out a leaflet at Nissan's truck manufacturing plant in Kawaguchi north of Tokyo demanding better pay, better working conditions and an end to the cosy relationship between union leaders and management. For their trouble the three men were repeatedly harassed and beaten by company and union goons.

As Masao Kayama, one of the protesting workers declared: Without oppression Nissan would not succeed. Because of low wages, there is no freedom to speak out against the system. Jobs are very hard but you cannot protest." An integral part of this repressive atmosphere are Japan's unions which are docile when facing management but vicious when dealing with workers who step out of line. Yoshihiko Azuma, a machine tool worker, described how union officials reacted to his attempt to leaflet workers as they came off-shift. "Union leaders surrounded me and said repeatedly that one who disagreed with the union should get out." Later the threats became more physical as Azuma described how one day "about 20 men pushed me and kicked me. They came after me on my way home, grabbed my arms, pushed me and refused to let me go. (They) told me to sign my resignation. When I refused they beat me on the head."

The three dissident workers claim that many of their fellow workers are equally dissatisfied but are afraid to speak out for fear of reprisals. Certainly the treatment meted out to the three tends to support that view as management and union moved quickly to stamp out any manifestation of resistance. Finally the three workers filed a complaint charging 24 Nissan managers and union members with harassment and assault. The charges are currently under investigation.

Free To Choose

The current issue of Canadian Dimension, an independent Marxist journal, has an article on the situation in China written by a disillusioned Maoist. After a little weeping and wailing over the lost idealism of the Cultural Revolution the author relates an interesting anecdote. It seems that between Sept. 22 and Oct. 12 of 1980 Milton Friedman visited China at the request of the Chinese authorities and presented four lectures to the Chinese Academy of Science and a select audience of party leaders. As the author states, "He delivered the message they wanted to hear: Incentives are essential. Moral exhortations to increase production are futile. It is any system based on equality. Greed is human nature." What we can't understand is why they had to drag Uncle Milton away from more pressing tasks like advising the Chilean Junta and Maggie Thatcher. They could have gotten exactly the same message from a re-reading of Lenin's The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government (Izvestia, April 28, 1918).

Freedom infects China

By: Brian Amesly

Freedom has a way of being catchy as current developments in the People's Republic of China are demonstrating. It was just a couple of years ago that the world witnessed the spectacle of the ill-fated

Democracy Wall. Now in 1981 there are more indications that the struggle for freedom is heating up.

The character of the struggle has changed somewhat. Along with continued protests against the denial of basic rights of free ex-

pression there are movements afoot trying to institute trade union organizations beyond the control of the ruling Chinese Communist Party bureaucracy. These have appeared in Wuhan and Shanghai. Inevitably one must wonder how long it will be before a rash of strikes follow?

The fact is that strikes could break out at any time. And if they do it will not be possible to explain them away by citing the "revisionism" of the post-Mao leadership.

As recently as the mid-1970's major strikes were waged in opposition to the Maoist state which was and still is the dominant employer. For example, in late 1974 a rail strike shut down services in central and southwestern China. The government responded with strikebreaking by using troops to unload the trains since the workers would not. In another case, in 1975, strikes were so extensive in the capital city of Che-king province, Hangchow, that 10,000 soldiers were needed to perform the jobs of the rebellious workers.

These outbursts occurred because the so-called proletarian dictatorship has never been very proletarian. Once this is realized it is not hard to see why the bureaucrats who exercise a monopoly control over the political and economic life of the Chinese people are showing a lot of interest in the events in Poland.



Invasion Quiz

Question: If Germany and Russia both invade Poland which army will the Poles fight first?

Answer: The Germans. Business before pleasure.

Question: What is the source of the irony each time a Soviet official lays a wreath at the tomb of Poland's unknown soldier?

Answer: The soldier buried there was killed in the 1920 Polish invasion of Bolshevik Russia.

Question: How do the Czechs describe Poland's coat of arms? (Hint: 'Kania' is Czech for 'eagle'.)

Answer: An eagle between two vultures.

Prison news

Continued from Pg. 13

New York City: Along the way there will be a series of activities consisting of traditional ceremonies conducted by the Elders of the Six Nations, as well as speaking engagements, cultural activities, and demonstrations.

Although the main focus of the Run will be Leonard Peltier and all Political Prisoners, the Run is also dedicated to the indigenous people of El Salvador and Guatemala and the children who have been killed in Atlanta. In Buffalo there will be a demonstration against the corporate state which breeds both the degenerate fascist elements which have increasingly been attacking the Black communities across the country and the cancerous tumours of Love Canal and West Valley. Demonstration/ceremonies will be held at various prisons along the route including Attica, Auburn State Prison and Dannemora.



In order to be a success the Run needs support in the form of runners, money, food, publicity, participants at the various happenings, logistical support etc. No specific date has yet been set. But for more information write to: The Peoples Run c/o Leonard Peltier Support Group, P.O.B. 176, Mohegan Lake, N.Y. 10547. Please include some stamps in your inquiry to help cover the cost of postage.

Radical solutions to the crisis? "No Thanks!"



Sure capitalism is having a bad time of it these days but that's no reason to throw in the towel. Besides history has shown that bourgeois experts like myself can write our own tickets in the post-revolutionary society so why join up now? One thing worries me though — these Anarchists and their talk of the "self-managed society." That kind of a set-up would be bad news for me and all other "professional managers. So I keep my eye on them. So should you. Subscription rates are \$5 for individuals for one year (six issues) and \$10 for libraries, institutions and funded organizations. Overseas subscriptions (outside North America) are \$7 per year. STRIKE! will be sent free to prisoners on request.

Make cheques payable to STRIKE! and send to: P.O. Box 2, Station O, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M4A 2M8.

The Collection Process

The First 100 Days

Most business billings are done on thirty day cycles. The first cycle is your initial billing and shows up as your current balance. The next cycle moves the amount owing to your previous balance. You'll be issued a summons to appear in court, a summons that 90% of those served choose to ignore thus giving the collectors a cheap victory, if you choose to show up, again — delay, delay, delay. With even an elementary knowledge of court procedure it is possible to drag out the affair for months and months. Your creditors costs will steadily add up and the prospect of them dropping the case or offering you a good settlement increase. The magic words in the latter case are: "You realize you'll have to pay something."

I Shot The Sheriff

Even if your creditor is particularly vindictive and a judgement is made against you the game still isn't over. These proceedings are *civil* not *criminal* and there are few penalties for evasion. You'll receive a 10 to 30 day grace period to comply with the court order after which your creditor still has to engage a bailiff to seize enough of your goods, and absolutely no more than necessary, to satisfy the judgement. Or, if you are employed, he can have your wages garnished. If you are locked into your job this can be a problem, although there are strict limits on the amount of your wages that can be garnished, if you are at all mobile you're laughing. To seize your goods they've got to find you and your goods — preferably in the same place.

The Collection Agency

At some point in the company's internal dunning cycle the spectre of "the collection agency" will be raised. Companies, however, are reluctant to pursue this route, especially in the case of small debts, because they automatically take a big loss. Collection agencies either bid delinquent accounts at a substantial discount or operate on a commission, again substantial. So at some point, before the one year profit cut-off point, your creditor will make one last effort to collect and then either write-off the debt as a tax deduction or refer it to a collection agency — to keep the system "honest."

The Wringer

Once in the hands of a collection agency the gloves are off. You'll start to receive increasingly vicious dunning letters threatening you with everything the agency thinks they can get away with. Their prime aim, however, is to get you to the phone as letters can too easily be ignored. Once they've gotten to talk to you they are going to try to scare you, bully you, anger you, and generally keep you off balance. Your best strategy is not to refuse payment outright but to delay, delay, delay. Make excuses, self-righteously terminate the conversation if they get too abusive, and send them a few bucks now and then. As time passes that debt just keeps getting harder and harder to collect. If you move around in the meantime and lose contact with the agency, it makes the debt even harder to collect.

Debt

Continued from Pg. 1

Debtors were also found to be willing to go to extraordinary lengths to thwart collection agencies. From disconnection of phones to refusing to answer doorbells, from assuming false names and identities to arranging elaborate secret identification codes among friends. Often, when the bailiffs finally arrive at the debtor's door, they find the occupants sitting on orange crates — the entire apartment contents having been removed to a friend or relative's house for safekeeping.

Some debtors attempt to counter the psychological intimidation routinely employed by collection agencies by challenging the collector's own self-image. The collector's are called unfair or unjust in their methods. Another favourite ploy is to unsettle them with unexpected humour such as asking if the collector is "having a nice day." Unfortunately the study found that illegal debt collection practices are seldom challenged.

In most states and provinces the most a bill collector can do is write or phone you a few times (at reasonable hours, i.e. before 9 p.m.) with threats limited to legal action, psychological intimidation and general nuisance value. Many bill collectors far exceed these legal bounds as was shown by a 1971 case where the Standard Collection Agency of New York City was indicted on forty-six counts of extortion, coercion, harassment, grand larceny and criminal impersonation. Allegedly one of Standard's collectors told CBS-TV newscaster Pia Lindstrom that he would "wreck" her career if she didn't pay a \$200 restaurant bill run up by one of her friends on her card. Another debtor was told his arms and legs would be broken if he

didn't pay a \$350 bill while yet another was threatened with having his arms and legs cut off and being pushed out of a 26th story window if he didn't pay a bill of \$396.55.

But, some debtors do fight back. One person pointed a gun at a bailiff and told him to get out of his apartment — the bailiff prudently retreated. In another case a bailiff was assaulted with a tire iron. One debtor found that by answering his door with a running tape recorder in his hand the bailiff was reduced to speechlessness. In another case a group even arranged for hidden cameras to record a bailiff seizure. The videotape was later used as a consciousness-raising tool in the neighborhood.

By far the most encouraging development in debtor resistance, however, was the formation of a Montreal group called Citizen's Resistance Against Bailiffs' Seizures (CRABS). This group attempted to transcend the isolation of debt by organizing occupations of collection agency offices and fostering the collective perception that what was being fought was a network of repressive agencies and not a specific agency or agent. They wanted to challenge the very basis of the debt collection enterprise and make connections with other forms of working class action such as wildcat strikes and sabotage.

The radical edge of their critique was significantly muted when they began to receive government funding. Soon they were just striving to counsel debtors and keep the collection agencies "honest." When the provincial government pulled the financial plug the project soon collapsed.

It would be easy to attack the CRABS organizers, from an anarchist perspective, for accepting

Your Day In Court

If they are really out to get you your file will eventually be referred to a collection lawyer. Again your creditors are reluctant to do this as lawyers cost even more than collection agencies. You'll be issued a summons to appear in court, a summons that 90% of those served choose to ignore thus giving the collectors a cheap victory, if you choose to show up, again — delay, delay, delay. With even an elementary knowledge of court procedure it is possible to drag out the affair for months and months. Your creditors costs will steadily add up and the prospect of them dropping the case or offering you a good settlement increase. The magic words in the latter case are: "You realize you'll have to pay something."

I Shot The Sheriff

Even if your creditor is particularly vindictive and a judgement is made against you the game still isn't over. These proceedings are *civil* not *criminal* and there are few penalties for evasion. You'll receive a 10 to 30 day grace period to comply with the court order after which your creditor still has to engage a bailiff to seize enough of your goods, and absolutely no more than necessary, to satisfy the judgement. Or, if you are employed, he can have your wages garnished. If you are locked into your job this can be a problem, although there are strict limits on the amount of your wages that can be garnished, if you are at all mobile you're laughing. To seize your goods they've got to find you and your goods — preferably in the same place.

The Great Escape

Declaring personal bankruptcy is one other alternative to paying your debts (except for taxes and such things as student loans — the state exempts its own bills from bankruptcy proceedings). Declaring bankruptcy used to entail a certain social stigma which militated against its widespread use. Today more and more people see it as an admirable alternative to allowing capitalists to milk them dry. The proceedings are simple, almost painless, and so sweeping that often the mere threat of declaring bankruptcy will be enough to cow most creditors into taking a more lenient attitude to the speed and amount of your payments. The procedure can be repeated, within certain time limitations, whenever needed. Debtors Arise!

government money and thereby allowing their project to be co-opted and defused. But, like attempts to organize the unemployed, attempts to organize debtors consume incredible amounts of time and energy and constantly run up against the atomization of the individuals concerned and the social stigma attached to both chronic indebtedness and unemployment. The temptation to accept government handouts that enable individuals to work full-time on such projects often seems irresistible. The ideological hegemony of Marxism and Social Democracy makes the development of a culture of resistance to government and government co-optation very difficult.

The debtors themselves strike out primarily to annoy rather than to challenge the system and their resistance is notable for its briefness. The lingering hope is always that the debt will eventually be written off and the problem deferred. Projects like CRABS are important indicators of the emergence of a more confrontationalist style and offer the possibility that Marxist and Social Democratic models will be rejected in favour of a truly radical critique of capital and the state.

A debtors revolt, on even a modest scale, would profoundly challenge the rule of capital. Such a challenge, however, must be informed by a truly radical consciousness if it is not to be sidetracked by half-measures such as moratoriums on interest payments or the selective cancellation of debts. But, even if only 5 to 10% of debtors declared: *We Can't Pay! We Won't Pay!* the commodity economy would be shaken to its very foundations.

Labour Pains

Times are Tough and so are We

Union members at Algoma and Stelco are debating plans to strike this summer in Sault Ste. Marie and Hamilton, Canada, respectively. At Algoma Steel negotiations appear to be proceeding amicably. Jack Ostroski, president of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) Local 2251 in Sault Ste. Marie, thinks discussion of a walk-out is 'premature'. But the Stelco scenario is another story.

Stelco chairman, Peter Gordon, says union wages demands are 'unrealistic'. And stock market analysts for big business have come out against a union demand for a two year limit on any agreement. The brokers are predicting a strike based on these points.

Steel Workers' Local 1005 in Hamilton has become dissatisfied with several aspects of the work conditions at Stelco. The Union is proposing a thirty three percent increase in basic wages which now stand at \$8.95 an hour with COLA. That adds up to a three dollar increase over two years. As well the steel workers want a union administered pension indexed to the rate of inflation available after thirty years of service. We want more health and safety representatives too. Remember that there were 1500 lost time accidents in the steel industry in 1979-1980. In addition the union is demanding better shift and week-end premiums. The workers are also unhappy about vacations and are demanding more time off after five years labour-time. And the membership is also concerned to win subsidized child-care for working parents, longer notice on technical changes, and a decent COLA clause which would yield 1¢ for every .2 increase in the Consumer Price Index instead of every .3 increase in the index. We want more holidays as well. Among other things the union is bargaining for better food service which we had until the 1969 strike when the company slashed food service quality to discipline us for the walk-out. Right now the food and eating environment are disgusting.

Stelco can well afford these demands. Their profits increased from \$33 million to \$157 million between 1970-1979. And they, like Algoma, are part of the Canadian Pacific network of companies and so part of the biggest firm, in terms of assets, in Canada. By God Stelco even has connections to the Vatican. So we shouldn't worry about shaking the money tree too hard. Especially when you consider that over the last three years the Consumer Price Index has increased 35 per cent while our wages only rose 22 per cent so producing a real decline in our wages of 13 per cent. That's in addition to the \$4390 we lost to inflation between 1972 and 1975.

What is perhaps even more interesting though is the fact that steel buyers have not been able to accumulate large inventories because of high interest rates which make stock piling prohibitive. This will give the workers a stronger bargaining position in light of strong steel demand.

It appears too that the steel workers are prepared to take advantage of this bargaining position. Dave Patterson's election as director of district 6 USWA, although worth little as a personnel change, nonetheless indicates that workers are prepared to mobilize for a militant strategy which is not afraid of walk-outs. The increased interest in union activities at 1005 also testifies to this. Union meeting attendance has increased ten-fold in recent months.

But all these factors are only a first step to winning fulfilling and meaningful work. Their real importance lies in the increased level of association between workers which will be exacerbated as the capitalists unite in their turn for the purpose of repressing the collective activity of the workers. This will necessitate the defence of the workers' organizations. And that is a class demand which reveals the political aspect of this social conflict. It has the potential to weaken the socialism which characterizes the labour movement and could make workers receptive to the need for organs of workers' power to oppose the repressive agencies of the state which operate in the interest of capital.

Who do they Think they're Fooling? You?

There has been quite a bit of discussion lately about the impact that Ontario, Canada's, *Bill Seventy* is having on our work conditions. The legislation says we can refuse to work if we think the conditions are not safe. Some have suggested that this aspect of the bill is a step forward for labour. In fact though the bill is a whole and its right to refuse work provision in particular isn't worth a damn.

In the first place this legislation will allow companies to limit their liability for industrial accidents by arguing that responsibility for injuries (caused mostly by terminal boredom) lies with the worker(s). And secondly programmes are already in place to educate foremen in methods of manipulating us into working when it's not safe.

This isn't the first time apparently pro-labour law has turned out on inspection to be a ploy to accumulate capital. Unemployment insurance law in Canada is the same kind of racker. And so is Ontario's Worker's Compensation legislation.

For example in the first two years of operation workers received only six per cent of the unemployment insurance fund's equity. The rest went to subsidize capital accumulation by financing the war effort in the 1940's.

The case of Ontario's workers' compensation scheme is instructive too. It seems that it was set up because court awards to workers for industrial accidents were starting to become a significant drain on company profits. That's why they pushed to have a plan built which finances costs for industrial injuries through payments from employers and employees. Its cheaper.

Thus why this Safety Act business won't amount to a hill of beans for the labour movement in Ontario. Bill seventy is just going to increase the plus side of the corporate balance sheet.

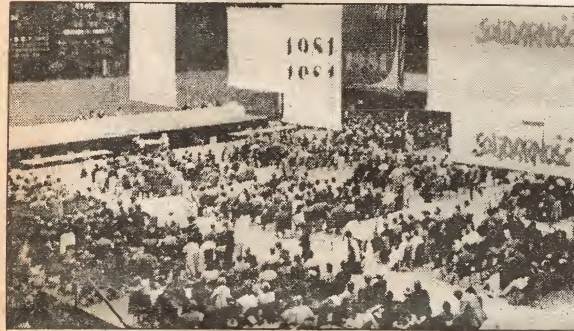
It's not the end of the world — it's just the beginning!

STRIKE!

Workers' Autonomy For Social Revolution

50¢

From Revolution to Reform: Solidarity's Path



Solidarity's historic first congress was marked by further retreats from the path of revolution and workers' power.

By Lazarus Jones

Those who make half a revolution dig their own graves.
Henri Saint-Simon

The recently concluded two-part Solidarity congress has clearly shown that the tide of revolution in Poland is on the ebb. The strangely anti-climactic congress, despite some brave words and resolutions, reveals a substantially tamed workers' movement in full retreat.

On the eve of the first session Lech Walesa, the self-styled "little dictator," declared that: "Whatever we have achieved up to now, it has been through confrontation. We don't want any more confrontation." The 892 delegates soon proved him right when they backed down from confronting the government by rejecting a proposal from Leszek Sobiechowski, a Solidarity delegate from Gdansk, who called for the formation of a "Solidarity" party from the union's constituent parts. Sobiechowski said the government had been "too harsh" in its treatment of the workers, but now it's a little absurd when we are fighting most of the party's ideas.

The question of the leading role of the party had been the major sticking point in the fight to get Solidarity registered as a "legal" organization after the government's acceptance of the Gdansk Accords. At the time it was assumed that this clause had been accepted by the workers' delegates in plenary session at Gdansk. Subsequently, however, it was learned that the clause was inserted at a meeting of the respective "panels of experts" and had never been referred to the assembled delegates for ratification. The acceptance of such a clause is clearly a matter of principle requiring a decision from the workers and its reduction into a question of "expertise" to be decided by intellectuals was an early and very serious mistake on the part of the Solidarity delegates. This maneuver revealed a great deal about the role of "experts" and "leaders" within Solidarity. It also foreshadowed the workers' self-management worked out just prior to the opening of the second session of the congress. As such it is worth describing in detail.

The following account is drawn from an interview with Jadwiga Staniszkis, one of Solidarity's experts on their negotiating team, that was re-printed in *Labour Focus* on Eastern Europe (Vol. 4, Nos. 4-6). Staniszkis explains that when it became clear that the government was willing to bargain with the insurgent workers either Walesa or one of the regional leaders suggested that "it would be a good idea to have a few specialists." This idea undoubtedly grew out of the close contact many Solidarity leaders had with mem-

bers of the Workers' Self-Defense Committees (KOR) and in light of the subsequent consequences of this importation of intellectuals into the workers' movement (both in the "leading role" controversy and the more recent compromise on workers' self-management which Jacek Kuron, a leading KOR activist, now a member of Solidarity's national executive, voted for) the role and significance of KOR should be critically evaluated.

Surreal Feelings

Staniszkis was approached and asked if he would serve on a committee of experts to meet with the government. He promptly accepted but soon began to feel rather odd in the role of "workers' expert" confronting the government experts. As he describes:

"I had strange, surreal feelings. Some intellectual-minded people had had rather of the same feelings in the Poland of the 1970s, when official like the government planning committee members were also very dangerous, creating inner loyalties (among experts on both sides) in relation to the negotiations."

This cozy atmosphere eventually led to the abolition of the twice daily plenary meetings, at which problems that arose during the negotiations were supposed to be discussed. After all, why bother the workers? The intellectuals could sort these things out among themselves. In this manner the "leading role" clause was manipulated through without a vote by the workers' delegates. This was a fatal error, as the delegates belatedly realized. The government team had demanded the insertion of the clause in order to avoid what they called an "ideological precedent." But, as Lenin asked in critiquing the anarcho-sindicalist position, if the workers through their autonomous organizations organize and collectively run the economy where does that leave the party? The answer was as clear to the Polish government's negotiating team as it was to Lenin — nowhere.

As Staniszkis noted: "The government should have explained all this in advance, but it wanted to avoid doing so because this would give the workers a new way of looking at things."

See Congresses Pg. 3

Carl Harp "Suicided"

Carl Harp was murdered by prison guards in Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla on September 5. A prison activist, opponent of sexism, and above all a revolutionary Carl's struggle for justice so threatened the police that he was brutally executed. Hung by telephone cable — wrists slashed by assassins — this contract killing is indicative of the sadistic punishment prisons promote. It is a more than sufficient argument for the abolition of these "universities of crime."

Carl Harp knew there was a contract on his life commissioned by the guard and prisoner clique called the *Aryan Brotherhood*. He protested by means of an open letter and committed himself to protective custody. A week later he decided to transfer back to the general prison population. It was while he was housed in the tier for transferring prisoners back to the general population that Carl was slain.

As we go to press there has been no explanation of how Carl's wrists were slashed since no weapon was found. And a suicide note — supposedly penned by the victim — has been declared a fake by Carl's wife and a close friend who both saw the letter.

Never known for trying to do "easy time" Carl Harp will be remembered for his key role in the formation of *Men Against Sexism* — which protected gay prisoners and educated others — numerous prison strikes, and as a founder of

the *Anarchist Black Dragon* Collective and its publication *The Anarchist Black Dragon* which encouraged prisoner solidarity and exposed the bankruptcy of the penal system.

Imprisoned at 23 on apparently fabricated charges of murder and rape in 1972 because the state prosecution blew its case against the real guilty party Carl Harp rapidly gained a reputation as a good jailhouse lawyer, poet, artist and supportive friend. In 1979 he and others non-violently took over the Walla Walla Classification Building and held ten prison staff hostage to publicize prison injustice. After the incident Carl was viciously beaten and raped with a riot baton by guards. After being hospitalized he was transferred to San Quentin. His assassination was almost carried out then except for the international support organized by his outside friends.

In 1980 Carl and others finally won their suit alleging that Walla Walla treatment was cruel and unusual punishment. See Harp Pg. 13

Anarchist Black Dragon!

WASHINGTON STATE PENITENTIARY



On The Inside

Revolution In Hungary

Twenty-five years ago the Hungarian Workers' Revolution shook Eastern Europe. We recall what happened and relate it to today. Page 4.

Class Struggle In Hamilton

Our resident steelworker analyzes the more than three month long Steelco strike. Page 5.

Man Of Iron

We review Poland's famed movie *Man of Iron* and find it rusty. Page 9.

Prison Movement

Reply

Ron Reed takes us to task on the prison struggle and makes a spirited defense of Carl Harp. Page 13.

Patco Strike

The defeat of the U.S. Air Traffic Controllers' strike was a victory for Reagan's anti-working class offensive. Mike Harris discusses its implications. Page 16.

STRIKE! Goes Monthly in January

With this issue we close out Volume One of NAA-STRIKE! It's been an exciting two years filled with many ups and downs, bouquets and brickbats, extravagant hopes and down-to-earth realities. Both the paper and the people who have worked and written for it have gone through many changes. And now, crazy as it might seem, we're planning another major change. Starting in January STRIKE! will be published as a 8-page monthly.

Along with this change in size and frequency we will be re-designing the paper and concentrating on shorter, snappier articles. We would like to encourage our readers to submit short news items, analysis, announcements, book and movie review, poetry etc. The maximum length of these pieces should not exceed 4 typed double-spaced pages. If longer articles are submitted we intend to be ruthless and edit them down. So the choice is yours — you can edit your own piece or we will. Most issues will also feature one or two longer articles on a theme or special event. If you have an idea for something along these lines please submit an outline will before the projected publishing date.

Also a more frequent publishing schedule will enable us to publish a Calendar section. So if you or your group are planning or know of an event that you think would be of interest to other anarchists send it in. Absolute deadline for the Calendar section will be the last day of the month preceding publication. (i.e. deadline for the first Calendar section will be December 31).

As when we first started this project we have a lot of ideas and enthusiasm but not much in the bank. So if you've got some cash stashed away earmarked for the anarchist press how about sending some along? Or, for the more dar-

For Starters



ing, how about organizing a fundraising event in your locality? It doesn't have to be a major production. A few friends invited over for a pot-luck supper, one day a month street-selling the paper (new bulk rates will be 20¢ per copy, over 10 issues, new cover price will be 35¢), or passing the hat the next time you attend a Marxist-Leninist social function.

We hope a more frequent, topical newspaper, can be more effective in breaking down the isolated condition many anarchists find themselves in. But, we can't do it alone. We need your participation and support. Why not get involved?

Challenging the Prison Movement

The tragic and brutal murder of Carl Harp has added a further emotional gloss to an article (A Challenge to the Prison Movement, Vol. 1, No. 11) that we fully realized would raise a great many hackles. The assertion that the author's



remarks on Carl Harp are simply untrue is a serious one and we take full responsibility if that is the case. Our investigation of the article's authenticity was limited to mentioning the fact that we were considering publishing it to an anti-prison activist who had read it and informed us that he recognized the author from the article's style. This person bears no responsibility whatsoever for the article's subsequent appearance in STRIKE! but we assumed that since he made no specific objections that the article contained no major errors.

Speaking personally my knowledge of the crimes that Carl Harp is alleged to have committed is limited to reading a long letter on the subject from him and a partial transcript of his trial sent to an acquaintance of mine. Frankly, I found Harp's explanation of the events unconvincing. I do not have access to the primary sources that I would find indispensable in corroborating or disproving that judgement. To

myself and Dave Brown both reflect those discussions and ideas raised by a number of folks involved in them. We all think that the issues raised by the article, (referred to as the anonymous article), are relevant, despite problems we see with the article itself, and we sincerely hope that the recent death of Carl Harp will not put an end to the discussion. We should also allow the state's dastardly treatment of Harp or the article's unfair and distorted treatment of him, to quash a necessary critical examination of the problems of the prisoner support movement. For this reason I am sending these letters with the hope that you will publish them, and thereby help to continue and broaden the discussion. Yours for a new world, Sylvie Kashdan

STRIKE! Reply: We received these letters of endorsement but have not reprinted them due to reasons of space and our giving priority to Ron Reed's article. If our readers would like to read them we suggest writing to Sylvie c/o Charlton Stew, P.O. Box 31461, Wallingford Station, Seattle, Wa. 98103

DESERVES ISOLATION

Dear Strike!

I appreciated your publishing "A Challenge to the Prison Movement." It's the kind of criticism we need to keep from falling into the usual unthinking "Solidarity" rut that characterizes Stalinism, as well as the idealistic romanticism the authors talk about. Yes, "prisons represent the capitalist response to overwhelmingly capitalist-produced problems," as you say in your introduction. Prisons are one of the essential products of capitalism, in fact. But we have to recognize that the criminal is angli-

those who see "inconsistency" in these feelings and our publication of Carl Harp's letters and reports on the persecution he has endured within the penal system I can only say that I hope such people are never in a position to make a final judgement on the "acceptability" of my own or my comrades' work.

A Note On Contributors

Lazarus Jones is a former member of the STRIKE! production collective presently working in Montreal. Tom Marick is a steel worker presently on strike in Hamilton, Ontario. Brian Amesley is an autoworker in St. Catharines. M. Archibald works as a printer in Edmonton, Alberta. Mike Harris is employed in the needle trades in New York City. H.R. Olson is an Australian academic. Arthur Miller is a pipe-fitter presently employed in New Orleans. B. Newbold is a pseudonym, and that's all he wrote. Ron Reed is an anti-prison activist based in Montreal.

Please Note New Address

STRIKE!
P.O. Box 284,
Main Station,
St. Catharines,
Ontario, Canada
L2R 6T8

For anyone wishing to contact our group in Toronto their new address is: P.O. Box 571, Station P, Toronto, Ontario.

LETTERS TO STRIKE!

TELLING THE TRUTH

Dear Strike,

I would like to share a personal experience with your readers that I believe confirms the views of the writers of "A Challenge to the Prison Movement" (Strike, Aug.-Sept.).

Some years ago, when I still lived in Oakland, I received a telephone call from a woman who knew an old comrade from New Orleans. She and her sister needed a place to crash until their car could be repaired for their drive back east.

When they arrived at my apartment, I heard a story so amazing that I only half-believed it at the time (this was before Jonestown).

The younger of the two women had been, essentially, rescued from a San Francisco collective run by an ex-convict turned political hustler. It appears that this asshole had recreated the conditions of a prison block inside a poor neighborhood apartment building. (For example? Well, the doors had been removed from all the bedrooms and bathrooms because privacy is a "Bourgeois notion"; it's also something that prisoners never have.)

The younger woman described an atmosphere of fear and intimidation that had not yet degenerated into violence and murder. But, sure enough, a couple of years later several of the members of this collective were arrested in connection with the murder of another woman

member. The disposition of this case is unknown to me.

The wisely anonymous authors of "A Challenge to the Prison Movement" can expect a lot of flack for the bold expression of their views, especially in the aftermath of the murder of Carl Harp. As for me, I applaud their courage and integrity, qualities as rare in the anarchist movement as anywhere else. Likewise, the editors of Strike demonstrated their integrity by printing the piece even when they disagreed with it (most "anarchist" publications are as well known by what they won't print as by what they will).

It is not enough to tell the truth about this or that ruling class rat. All parts of class society must be exposed for what they really are... including us. We are, after all, also a part of the social order. When we can learn to be honest with ourselves, perhaps then there will be hope.

Comradely,
Frank Stevens

RELEVANT ISSUES

Hi Strike Folks,

The enclosed letters were written in response to the article criticizing the prisoner support movement which you published a short while ago. Here in Seattle, we have been having lengthy discussions of the article, and the issues which it raises, and the letters written by

er product of capitalism, and this poses a problem for us.

The criminal is not simply a person victimized by the system, who would naturally become a social revolutionary if given the chance or who would naturally fit in to a revolutionary society. There is such a thing as a criminal mentality, a totally exploitative amorality that characterizes rapists, armed robbers who kill, and extortionists (also many politicians, soldiers, and business executives). This mentality is as much a product of capitalism as automobiles, deodorant, and air pollution. That means it's a real and enduring thing with real and enduring effects, not just a social mistake or nightmare, curable by exposure to revolutionary ideas or even by revolution itself.

Ironically, I read your review of Carl Harp's book (glowing, as "Challenge" predicted) before I read the article, and was myself affected with the naive, uncritical acceptance that the article attacks. After finding out what Harp is in prison for, I don't give a damn how much of an anarchist he claims to be. That kind of sadism (armed rape, the sniper shootings) deserves isolation from society.

Perhaps the line to be drawn here is between political and property crime on the one hand, and violent crime or the other. I would not call

the police or otherwise take revenge on someone who broke into my house and stole my stereo. But I'd kill someone who threatened my physical safety or that of someone I love. There's no way you can say economic privation and social inequity drove Carl Harp to rape two women at gunpoint and gun down two innocent people in a shooting spree.

The only way I'd be willing to see Carl Harp at large in society again would be if he could show an understanding of his antisocial acts and a willingness to somehow make up for them in constructive social work. He should also be a convinced and enthusiastic supporter of feminism, obviously.

"Love and Rage" (to quote Carl Harp)
Chris Neilson



See More Letters Pg. 14

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France: Towards Socialism?

By Mike Harris

The recent election of Francois Mitterand as President of France represents the first major national electoral victory for the French left since the beginning of the Cold War in 1947.

Mitterand is a socialist — at least in name.

But how real are the prospects for fundamental change resulting from the election?

Even more importantly, what are the chances for real socialism and workers' self-management to gain control anywhere by way of a peaceful election?

Can capitalism be overthrown a little at a time by the gradual nationalization of one firm after another, as Mitterand intends to do in France?

Mitterand is a big-time politician and has been for a long time. He served as a government minister on eleven different occasions under the Fourth Republic. Throughout his political career, he has proved himself to be a loyal agent of the French bourgeoisie and French imperialism.

When the Algerian independence struggle began in 1954, Mitterand was the Minister of the Interior. He organized the French riot police to suppress the uprising.

Mitterand was a staunch supporter of French repression in Algeria, insisting from the beginning that independence was out of the question.

"The only negotiation is war," he told the National Assembly. "We want the Algerian people to be more and more integrated into the French nation, and it's because we cannot allow it to be separated that we are having recourse to force."

Mitterand was also responsible for the banning of Bastille Day celebrations by the Communist Party.

The bourgeoisie surely know which side the new President is on.

Even if Mitterand is no revolutionary socialist — and he clearly isn't — why do we think socialism (that is free socialism, socialism from below) can't come through electoral means under any circumstances?

Some people on the left believe that it might be possible for social-



ists to win enough popular support to gain control of traditional political institutions and by that means change the existing state — the government bureaucracy, the "justice" system, the police, the military — to enforce laws that would curtail the power of the ruling class.

This point of view is what is meant by the term "reformism", and it is the position of many who have hailed Mitterand's victory as

an immense gain for the working class. But in the past, every attempt to establish socialism through that process has failed.

In Chile in 1970, the socialist Salvador Allende was elected president. Three years later the generals who had been invited to join the government overthrew Allende and brutally destroyed the working class movement.

While socialists who govern still-capitalist countries are gradually introducing "socialism", economic power remains in the hands of the capitalists.

Once the socialist politician really threatens the power of capitalism, the bourgeoisie forces a change in government. The ultimate power in capitalism resides not in government but in capital itself.

Another reason capitalism cannot be reformed into socialism of any kind, let alone free and self-managed socialism, is that the machinery of the state is not neutral but designed from top to bottom to preserve capital.

The state — which is a bureau of capital — controls the major means

of violence and repression.

During the last five years, unemployment has doubled in France. Inflation runs at 14%.

As the crisis of world capitalism deepens, Mitterand will be forced to choose between managing the crisis for capital or withholding the state's repressive apparatus from crushing an insurgent working class struggle.

There is certainly nothing in his party's past to suggest that he will opt for workers' self-management — the fundamental basis for socialism.



A Tale of two Congresses

Continued from Pg. 1

ing at power. Instead, they used the intellectuals, and we immediately understood what all this meant. They wanted to use the experts and the workers' trust in the experts as a means of introducing this formula."

It was only at the final session when Jagielski, the head of the government team, paraphrased this point and spoke of how much it meant to him, how happy he was

how 'liberalised' in the manner of the intelligentsia. Staniszkis also refutes the argument that without the experts the workers might have been hoodwinked or led into traps. The workers decided, after point one on the 'leading role' of the party had already been signed, to do the final negotiations on all the other points themselves. They had a nagging suspicion, soon proven correct as noted above, that the 'leading role' formula should not

their bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course — for mankind has not created a 'third' ideology, and in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology ... But the spontaneous development of the working class movement leads to its subordination to bourgeois ideology ... trade-unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie. Hence our task, the task of social-democracy, is to combat spontaneity." (Works, Vol. 5, Pg. 384)

When the hacks in the Kremlin start foaming at the mouth and railing against "counter-revolution" in Poland they are not simply expressing the interests of an entrenched ruling class nervous about the prospects of retaining their privileges and positions. They are also re-stating classic Leninist thought on the significance of the autonomous struggles of the working class. Since the working class "exclusively by its own efforts" cannot attain socialist consciousness any spontaneous workers' movement is by definition "bourgeois" as there is no "third ideology". To a Leninist a workers' movement is only a "real" workers' movement if it is subordinated to a socialist (i.e. Leninist) party. A revolutionary movement is defined not by being a movement of workers but by possessing the "correct" ideology, i.e. the Marxist one, which is "proletarian" by definition.

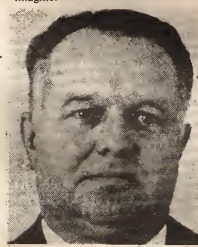
This is the rationale by which the Leninists have justified their butchery of workers from Kronstadt to Gdansk. It will be the rationale used when either the Kremlin or the Polish leadership move decisively against Solidarity.

Wait and Watch

For now they are content to wait and watch the movement degenerate into a bureaucratic, centralized shell that will gradually lose the allegiance of the Polish working class. Revolutionary militance, as the party well knows, cannot be turned on and off like a water faucet. A revolutionary movement must swiftly and decisively triumph over all its opponents if it is not to wither and die. This degenerative

process is already far advanced within Solidarity as the recent compromise on workers' self-management showed.

At a meeting of Solidarity's National Executive, attended by only four of its eleven members, the Executive agreed that in all emergencies deemed "strategic" the Polish authorities will have the right to appoint the managers. If the employees object to the appointment they can "challenge" them in court. It is more than ironic that an almost identical "compromise" was used to smash the workers' factory councils in Russia after the revolution. As the Polish working class will doubtless soon discover "strategic" industries and enterprises can include almost anything you care to imagine.



Kania: His ouster strengthens the military as the party faces perpetual worker militance.

When the details of the "compromise" were revealed at the second session of the congress there was an uproar. Over 40 delegates stepped up to the microphones to denounce the leadership for their handling of the situation. A perceptive delegate from Warsaw, Seweryn Jaworski, said the compromise ultimately favoured the government: "We wanted to break the neck of the system, but we've only managed to twist it." Jan Rulewski, who challenged Walesa for the chairmanship of Solidarity, was unequivocal in his condemnation of the action: "This union was not created to make compromises, but to smash the totalitarian system in our country."

Walesa Wins

He was widely applauded but when the votes were counted he had managed to attract only 6 per cent of the vote. Walesa, who declared that he does "not intend to risk everything Solidarity has achieved up till now for the sake of winning to directors," was swept to victory with 55 per cent of the vote in a four-man race. Bearing this in mind Solidarity's declarations on supporting free trade unions elsewhere in Eastern Europe should perhaps be taken with a large grain of salt. The North American pattern of militant rhetoric and servile practice appears to be gaining an ever firmer foothold in Solidarity.

As Andrzej Gwiazda, another unsuccessful challenger for the Solidarity leadership put it, "I think our leaders use a different kind of language now. It's a language understood by the authorities, but not by the rank and file. They are no longer talking to the grass roots."

And so it goes. A movement that at one time could have shaken off the parasitical Polish bureaucracy with one shrug of its shoulders is pushed back, little by little, until all that remains is the form but not the content of revolution. Yet even if Solidarity becomes a feeble travesty of its former self it will still be an insufferable boil on the Leninist body politic. Sooner or later the bureaucracy will feel confident enough to lance it but, when that decision is implemented, the Polish authorities will once more be confronted by a working class that knows the power it holds in its hands. It will be confronted by a working class finally and irrevocably aware that to survive the revolution must triumph or die. When that moment arrives we may yet see such an explosion of workers' power that capitalists and commissars around the world will be blown from their thrones and the muck and mire of ages of oppression will finally be swept from the faces of the globe.

* Labour Focus on Eastern Europe is available from: Box 23, 136 Kingland High St., London E8, England. Surface subscriptions are £5.50 a year, airmail is £8.00.



that the Solidarity team had given their approval to his party, and so on, that the workers realized the implications of the clause on the party's "leading role." Even Walesa was upset and declared that the only chance of reversing this point would be if the central committee refused to accept the Gdansk agreement as a whole. But, the following Saturday afternoon, the party leadership accepted the agreement.

Intellectuals

In Staniszkis' view the impact of the intellectuals on the negotiating process was almost wholly negative: "It led to a packaging of their (the workers') demands, but it also distorted the authentic expression of the movement. They were really so much against the system that they didn't even want to touch it. And that was distorted. They were some-

have been adopted. They proved to be extremely adept winning more radical concessions than the intellectuals on all points except point 8 (wages). As Staniszkis notes: 'They were very skilful and did it all without the experts.'

The implications for Solidarity, however, of bowing to the judgement of the intellectuals in accepting the "leading role" of the party are profound. By only going halfway, by challenging but not destroying the party, Solidarity has sown the seeds of its own eventual destruction. Neither the Soviets nor the Polish party leadership will tolerate Solidarity's existence for one second longer than absolutely necessary. The reasons for this are not difficult to ascertain. They lie at the very heart of Leninist dogma. Lenin stated them explicitly and succinctly when he wrote:

"Since there can be no question of an independent ideology for-mulated by the working masses themselves in the process of their movement, the only choice is — ei-

25th Anniversary

The Hungarian Revolution

By: Brian Amesly

This autumn marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of two of the most inspiring yet tragic events in the recent history of the international workers' movement. One was the October 1956 revolt in Poland which swept away orthodox Stalinist rule only to be defused and then smashed by Gomulka's "national communism".

The other more radical event was the workers' revolution in Hungary. This insurrection not only did a great deal to explode the myth of the "workers' states" in Eastern Europe but also demonstrated the capacity of the working class to transform society through autonomous organs of workers' power.

Given these characteristics alone the Hungarian Revolution offer critical insights into the nature of social revolution in contemporary society. However, in view of the situation in eastern Europe today its historical significance has never been greater.

To begin with, the situation which gave birth to the 1956 events in Hungary was largely defined outside of its borders. Foremost among the causes was the death of Stalin and the partial dismantlement of his all-pervasive terror apparatus throughout most of Eastern Europe. Also important was the June 1953 revolt by 300,000 workers in East Berlin, the first massive worker revolt against Stalinism in the region. Then there was the June 1956 Poznan workers' uprising in Poland which paved the way for the October events.

The resistance in Hungary preceded the Poznan uprising by two months. However, unlike in Poland, it was not initiated by the working class. Rather, popular pressure for change began with the formation of the Petofi Circle in Budapest by young, reform-minded communists and members of the officially sanctioned Writers' Union. Naturally enough, this grouping raised demands for greater literary freedom and a Hungarian approach to communism.

The Petofi Circle met with enormous success. During the summer of 1956 the number of people who were attracted by its activities grew into the thousands. By September this popular groundswell resulted in it openly calling for freedom of speech. In addition to this worker discontent became evident with demands being raised for a democratization of the official trade unions.

Polish Connection

Meanwhile trials got underway in Poland of workers who had been involved in the Poznan uprising. In response to this the Petofi Circle decided to call a demonstration for October 23 in Budapest to express



In 1956 Hungary's workers achieved a lot more than trade union consciousness. No thanks to Lenin, mind you, solidarity with the Polish workers on trial.

The response was massive. Some 50,000 people took to the streets, most of whom were young. As the day progressed the crowd grew to an estimated 100,000 with many workers then.

The situation exploded in the evening when members of the Secret Police (AVO) opened fire on the

unarmed demonstrators leaving many dead. In response large numbers of workers and students began arming themselves. The revolution was on.

In the midst of this the ruling Communist Party found itself isolated and on the defensive. In desperation it purged its leadership and placed a "national communist" leadership headed by Kadar in command. The party also tried to appease the

population with promises of sweeping democratic reforms and changes in the official trade unions. But at the same time it kept its other option open and shortly thereafter requested Soviet intervention to deal with the 'counter-revolution' engulfing Hungary.

Workers' Councils

None of these actions did anything to prevent the growing insurrection. In fact the revolt was getting more dangerous than ever, in large part because the workers were creating revolutionary councils. Through these councils workers in Budapest successfully initiated a call for a general strike which soon took hold throughout the city and facilitated the growth of the workers' councils movement across Hungary. The workers then showed their ability to organize on a national scale by proceeding to federate their councils. Critically this was accomplished through their own actions indicating their power to transform society through their own self-activity.

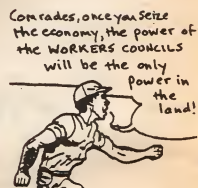
The revolution was not confined to the cities. In the countryside farm-workers and peasants united with the workers by organizing the delivery of food to the rebels in the cities. Furthermore, on many state farms workers ousted the managers, then, either redistributed the land they seized or assumed genuine collective management of production.

Despite the breadth of this revolutionary upsurge and the heroic actions of its participants the people in arms were no match for the Soviet invaders who bloodily suppressed the revo-

lution. Thousands were killed and many more had to flee the country. Nonetheless popular resistance continued well into 1957. But it was futile. The Soviet counter-revolution was already victorious.

This defeat together with Gomulka's silencing of the Polish workers restored "normalcy" to Eastern Europe. Soviet enforced stability prevailed until 1968 when Czechoslovakia became the focus of struggle followed by Poland from 1970 onwards.

Therein lies the special significance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. It recalls a high point in the very same struggle which continues today. Therefore it is crucial to understanding the present situation. Furthermore, the revolution's deeply radical thrust is a reminder of what is necessary to achieve workers' power in Eastern Europe.



VINYL CHLORIDE

by M. Archibald

On August 27, 1981, a train derailment near Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, released the contents of two tank cars of vinyl chloride monomer. The deadly VC gas came from a Dow Chemical processing complex at Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta, near Edmonton, and the incident was only the latest in a series of mishaps associated with the ill-fated plant.

The most spectacular event occurred May 27, 1981, when an explosion destroyed the plant's control centre, injuring five workers and causing a temporary shut-down of the \$95 million facility.

In the aftermath of the explosion it was revealed the Dow plant had violated Alberta's lax emission standards for VC no less than 357 times in less than two years of operation. A nearby Diamond Shamrock plant had exceeded the VC emission standard 83 times in a seven month period. These figures must be considered low as the provincial authorities allow the companies to carry out their own monitoring.

Vinyl chloride is a petrochemical which can be polymerized to make PVC, the basis of a whole plastics manufacturing industry. It has been

known for at least 10 years that VC causes birth defects and various types of cancer. The carcinogenic properties of VC have been studied through lab experiments as well as surveys of workers in VC plants and residents of communities near VC plants.

The Alberta emission standard for VC is 5 parts per million which compares with a 1 ppm standard in most other provinces or countries with VC plants and 0.2 ppm standard at a Dow plant in Sarnia, Ontario.

The Fort Saskatchewan emissions have been known to exceed the standard by as much as a factor of 100. Nevertheless the government declines to prosecute the companies.

Rather than clean up its act Dow responded to public criticism by buying full page ads in the Edmonton newspapers to attack "alarmist pronouncements" and extol the virtues of VC. Dow's arguments in favour of VC included the assertion that breathing the toxic gas is safer than smoking cigarettes as well as the suggestion that laboratory animals are more sensitive to VC than humans. Dow did admit VC causes angiosarcoma, a "rare" liver cancer.

Indeed angiosarcoma may be rare today but perhaps only because cancers induced by VC have a long latency period. In this connection one can only cite the now famous statement by Samuel Epstein (*The Politics of Cancer*) that there has never been evidence "of any safe exposure level for VC, or indeed of any other carcinogen." The VC complexes at Fort Saskatchewan are part of the Alberta government's vaunted attempt to build a petrochemical industry in the province. But in order to attract the handful of multinationals which dominate that industry, the province has literally mortgaged the lives of its citizens.



"Don't worry. There's no danger until we finish the medical research."

New Tactics for CUPE?

The recently completed biennial convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) held in Winnipeg proved to be a small landmark for the trade union movement in Canada. In the aftermath of a onslaught against the right to strike in the public sector and the failure of traditional strike tactics to meet its militants at the gathering came out in favour of some fresh new approaches to workplace struggles.

The use of administrative or social strikes was the most innovative. These strikes involve locking out management, taking control of production and refusing to charge customers either the fees or taxes normally used to pay for the services provided. There can be no doubt that the inspiration for the idea came from the administrative strike at B.C. Telephone earlier this year and from the successful use of the tactic in Europe.

Another proposal raised was the use of multi-employer strikes. In and of itself this strategy has the advantage of broadening active class unity. However it could be particularly successful given the employment of administrative strikes and a concerted effort to win public support.

But the critical question remains as to whether these fresh approaches to workers' struggles will actually be put into practice. Other developments give reason for skepticism.

For one thing there was the outcome of the debate over what response there should be given a return to wage controls. Demands from CUPE militants for a general strike were defeated. Instead the national executive prevailed and the majority of the delegates opted for ineffective tactics such as marches on Ottawa. Past struggles have shown the pitiful impotence of these rituals with their main ac-

complishment being a defusing of worker militance. CUPE's leadership undoubtedly realizes this.

Elsewhere the convention did not result in the removal of Grace Hartman and her ilk from the union's leadership. While a change of faces at the top cannot alter the general orientation of any union the fact that Hartman, who sat on her hands during last winter's hospital strike in Ontario, still leads the union is a bad omen for the future. So too is the failure of the convention to make a clean break from the New Democratic Party whose record in power and in opposition merits such action.

Despite these things, the open discussion of tactics like administrative strikes still represents a positive development. Given the certainty of more repression against public sector workers there is ample reason to believe more talk will of necessity be translated into direct action.

It's Steelworker Time!

By Tom Marick

The rhythm of social disruption is on the upswing worldwide. The Canadian status-quo has not been immune to these shock-waves. Nowhere is this more evident than on the industrial front. One of the most striking examples to date is the shut-down of production at Hamilton's giant steel producer, Stelco.

Journalists are calling 1981 the year of the strike. If the strike at Stelco holds out much longer this will be a record year for time lost to labour disputes. The stakes are high for both labour and capital.

A successful strike at Stelco could be the key to organizing Dofasco — another Hamilton steel producer with about 10,000 workers. The strike also sets the pattern for negotiations throughout many other areas of the economy.

Company and government officials are well aware of this too. Some speculate that it is this fear of a 'chain effect' from the current struggle which is causing the government to pressure the company not to settle.

The present dispute at Stelco opened with a bang. After 12 years of passivity, the massive local seemed prepared for a long hard battle to recoup losses and make some significant gains. We were angry. (Strike No. 1, pg. 16)

Only days before the strike did it become obvious that all was not well at the negotiating table. But long before this the writing was on the wall. Graffiti throughout the plant called for a walk-out. 'Fun in the sun' — Strike in '81' was the dominant slogan.

The week before the strike Stelco launched its propaganda campaign for a smooth settlement. Although the company has consistently claimed they cannot provide us with written notice of shift changes they still managed to hand deliver their offer to the home of every union member. They costed union proposals for a contract at more than \$14 per hour. But to get that figure they had to exaggerate. They believe that one more holiday would be worth \$08 an hour. That's ridiculous. When is the last time any one got paid over \$900 for a day's work at Stelco. However what is even more important than the different details of their letter is the fact that the company began to try and make up our minds for us by this intervention. It didn't do them any good though.

On July 29, over 8,000 workers from Stelco discussed the company's offer at Ivor Wynne Stadium in Hamilton. Given a 91.4% increase in the second-quarter company profits over the same period in 1980 their wage offer of \$1.15

increase over three years was laughed out of the stadium. It was apparent many workers were ready to shut down the plants. But the executive didn't trust us.

The next day a leaflet was issued by the executive urging us to reject the company offer. A significant number of workers were angered at this attempt to cajole us. No one likes to be told what to do.

But this mistake was not critical as on July 31 workers rejected the contract. Over 86 per cent of the union called for a strike.

Silence descended inside the plant at midnight. The gates outside the gates thousands of workers shouted "out, out" as night-shift filtered from the plant. The gates were padlocked by the union and the company while the crowd cheered, honked horns and enjoyed a few frosty ones. Children and even long retired Stelco employees joined in the celebration. Moreover 9,500 workers at Algoma Steel in Wawa and Sault Ste. Marie and 4000 workers at Quebec Stelco plants, Lake Erie Works and eight Stelco Finishing plants in Ontario struck their employer that evening.

Workers in Hamilton moved swiftly to build picket lines around Stelco and control access to the plants. Flying pickets were also dispatched to a nearby Samuel and Son warehouse to stop the shipment of Stelco steel. A train carrying Stelco steel was stopped by a spontaneous picket line of cars on a Barton Street rail crossing. Somehow the train's airbrakes then failed and the steel shipment derailed. Re-



Stelco wives' support demonstration wound through Hamilton's industrial drive.

sponse from the police was immediate. The company used them to gather phony evidence for a court injunction. They charged our lines at one point saying we were obstructing traffic. And another time a bus load of police were stationed near a picket line to try to stop us from preventing scabs' entrance to the plant. Fearing strong reaction from the strikers the company finally removed its police to a safer vantage point and stopped pressing for a court injunction to limit picketing.

While we were building the strike, United Steelworkers of Am-

scissors. But that's the way you learn the value of independent judgement I suppose.

The same day workers at Algoma were being sold down the river by the 'improvers' of humanity, employees at Stelco in Hamilton were treated to an example of what breathes life into the vision of socialism. As a scab at Hilton Works was trying to drive his vehicle through a picket line one worker dynamized by our collective strike action whipped out a length of chain and smashed it down onto the car. Countless other acts of the class war, which all socialists profess to agree with, could be pointed out but what makes this incident stand out in sharp relief is the posture of many strikers about their responsibility to this brother. The union has refused to pay the fines this worker incurred or fight for his job. Have we forgotten our socialist principles? Some say this unionist is being thrown to the wolves because he's a hard-case. Still that doesn't justify making him a scape-goat for our collective fight with Mr. Moneybags.

Part of that fight has been the development of a newsletter called the Striker. The two page bulletin distributed at the union hall and on the picket lines details coming activities, needs and contributions for the union. Other means of keeping the strike sold have included a Bar B.Q. in the company parking lot and a picnic in a local park. We have convinced many businesses to donate goods and services to support the strike. As well the Stelco Credit Union has declared a loan and non-pag mortgage moratorium for the duration of the shutdown.

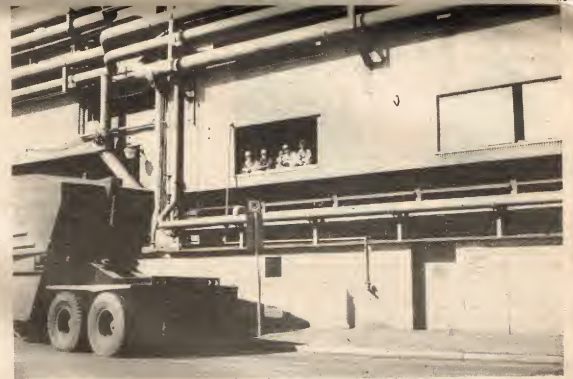
However Fatco has not stood idly by while the union consolidates its

was just about the same time Stew Cooke joined his Tory friends in a new government job. Our local president, Cec Taylor, reasoned that this scissorbill was being paid off for his services to the ruling class.

Meanwhile word was reaching the picket lines that in Etobicoke, Irwin Toys had been strike-bound since June 17th. But the company was hiring scabs and strike-breakers to stop the picket action by 104 unionists. This was a first contract situation where the predominantly female union, earning minimum wage, was engaging against a multi-billion dollar anti-union employer. So our union decided to provide transport for any worker at Stelco to help picket Irwin Toy.

About 100 of us began making weekly trips to the scab company to stop production. The police tried to break our lines of course. They arrested picketers and even charged Dave Patterson, the director of district 6 USWA, with assaulting a police officer. But we were able still to disrupt the company's work. And by the end of September an area support movement was beginning to emerge.

Labour Day activity was a shot in the arm for many strikers too. While a half million workers protested hard times imposed by the state in the U.S. at Washington, we gathered with the area labour movement and reaffirmed our commitment to smash capital's latest anti-labour offensive. Later that day when a number of us met at the Polish Legion Hall to relax John Munro, a federal cabinet minister from Hamilton East, tried to make our social He was ultimately thrown out of the hall by a large variety of unionists who don't like



Employers of non-union Dominion Foundries and Steel Co. have generously supported the strike. But will they organize?

erica (USWA) bureaucrats were trying to tear it down. The Algoma Steel leadership made up predominantly of business unionists like Jack Ostroski with the help of ex-director Stew Cooke and his scissorbills pushed for a settlement. They sold the contract as the best in the industry.

On August 7th, 58 per cent of the Algoma workers voted for a contract which provided for only a \$1.30 wage increase over three years. Minimal vacation and pension improvements were included in the agreement but they are insignificant. For example, the pensions aren't indexed to the cost-of-living.

So workers in Algoma were railroaded into voting for virtually the same contract they rejected seven days earlier by the smooth talking

resources. The company cancelled all medical and life insurance coverage to strikers and pensioners even though the latter have no voice in the union. Moreover the company accelerated efforts to break the strike by separate bargaining with its Lake Erie Works and finishing plants. These efforts backfired and actually helped workers close ranks against Stelco. Ninety per cent of Stelco employees remained on strike. And two Hamilton Finishing plants joined our bargaining committee. As well the employer's callousness towards the sick and elderly swung many workers in the city to our side.

On September 4th the workers at Stelco basic steel plants in Edmonton, Alberta, joined our strike bringing half a thousand more workers onto the picket lines. This

to mix with the henchmen of the ruling class.

On September 17th the union and Stelco were summoned to Toronto by the provincial government to review their bargaining positions. The company refused to begin negotiations once again. They said they didn't want us to have certain people on our negotiating team. The union said it was up to us to select our delegates. But the company said it wouldn't bargain until we agreed to make separate agreements for Stelco employees at the finishing works and kicked their negotiators off our committee. It looked like the beginning of a long strike.

With that in mind the union has sponsored the creation of a 'wives' committee to broaden support for

Heritage Farce

by M. Archibald

The mindless tranquility of Edmonton's August Heritage Festival was shattered by a political uproar. Polish and Chilean representatives were banned from the annual event in the Alberta capital for introducing radical propaganda into their displays. The Poles had the audacity to erect a banner bearing the Solidarity logo while the Chileans defied official instructions in exhibiting photographs of political prisoners who have vanished under the Pinochet regime.

Outraged festival organizers charged the two groups had violated a rule which bans political, religious, or nationalistic features from the event, which attracted 42 national groups and 250,000 spectators.

According to one official, "It's

[the Festival] not for politics, it's to show the history, the dancing, the costumes of the country." A Polish spokesman noted Solidarity is a trade union, not a political group. "To the Russians it's political, but not to us." A Chilean commented, "If we just show happy dancing and food it's a lie about our country."

The Chileans pointed out that the Festival had broken its own rules by using Tory politicians Joe Clark and Doug Roche as greeters and by allowing a Muslim display.

This heavy handed attempt to divorce politics from culture is a common occurrence in officially sponsored cultural events in Alberta. As one observer remarked, in a couple of years the Festival will be reduced to a handful of Wasps sipping tea in an empty park.

BREAD & ROSES

Take Back The Night!

A woman enjoying a walk down the street alone notices that she will soon have to pass a group of men. The feelings that she will experience in the next little while are familiar to every woman in this society. A feeling of dread will wash over her. The constricting throat muscles, the fluttering of her stomach and the glacial stare she assumes to indicate she does not notice, all serve to remind her of her place in society.

After the encounter, waves of relief may wash over her. Nothing happened. However, she is far too likely to be washed over with feelings of humiliation, embarrassment, shame, helplessness and rage. Far too often she is physically violated as well as verbally abused.

The later in the day, the more a woman will dread passing men on the street. When night falls, harassment becomes the rule of the street.

Street harassment is not just a compliment to a woman! It is a form of abuse. These encounters are not just minor irritations. They are a violation of our human rights.

For many women, the fear of walking down the streets alone manifests itself as problems and illnesses that affect a woman's ability to enjoy a full and normal life. Depression and paranoia may result. Many women suffer from agoraphobia, the housewife's disease, unable to go anywhere without their husbands or a member of their family at their side. Sometimes, even the husband's presence does not reassure these women. Their homes become their sanctuary and prison. The panic these women experience is a severe form of that feeling every woman experiences as she walks down the street.

Rape, assault, harassment, lewd comments, ogling, staring, threats; to women these things are everyday occurrences, no woman escapes the misogynist's power display. We are victimized on the street while alone or with other women but never when we are with a man.

To show that women no longer accept the situation, marches were held across the continent on September 18th. The marches were a demonstration of our collective strength. We marched alone, not with men, to show that we will no longer be kept at the side of a man to be safe. Traditionally, women fear the night for it is believed that rapists come out only at night.



do their vicious deeds. To demonstrate our determination to destroy the threat of male violence against us we marched at the time considered most dangerous for us—nighttime.

The lights and candles that we carried lit our way and symbolized our safety. We lit our faces to show that we are not afraid. The light eliminated the darkness just as we hope to eliminate the threat that keeps us down in everyday existence.

Because the threat of being harassed, assaulted and insulted is so real to all women participation in the marches was very high. For many women, this was the first mass action they have ever participated in.

Women of all ages, occupations and lifestyles joined together to protest the injustices of this patriarchal society.

The marchers did not forget that many of the rapes and other acts of violence directed at women occur in the supposed safety of the women's homes by people known to the victim. Rape crisis groups and battered wives' centres used the publicity generated by the march as a forum to educate people about the horrors occurring behind closed doors and what can be done about it. Leaflets handed out to women on the streets (of which there were very few, not surprisingly) explained the services they offer and directed women in need of help where to go.

A "Take Back the Night" march is an effective weapon that can be used to fight a patriarchal society. The drama of the march generates publicity and therefore serves three major purposes. It has a mobilizing effect on women. It brings women out of their homes. It makes them see that they are not alone with this problem and that these problems can be overcome through collective action.

The march serves to warn the street harassers that their actions are not welcome and will no longer be tolerated. Finally, the march serves to inform society that women are organizing to change society so that they can go where and how they please.

Yes means yes
No means no
However we dress
Wherever we go.

The IWW Today

By the Syndicalist Alliance

From things we read in the European libertarian and/or anarchist syndicalist press, it seems to us that many European libertarians are under the impression that the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) is a genuine mass union organization or at least has significant influence within the U.S. working class. But this is a myth and it is necessary to puncture this myth if we are going to make a realistic judgment about the way forward for anarchist syndicalism in the U.S.

According to IWW General Organizational Bulletin No. 3 (1980), the "current (IWW) membership... is between 450-500." Of course, numbers are not by themselves always a very good indication of the real influence of a group. A cohesive and active organization with small numbers can often have more influence than a larger organization with dispersed and/or passive membership. With a largely passive and not very cohesive membership, the IWW has even less influence within the working class than its numbers might indicate. The state of the IWW can be judged if we consider that San Francisco and Milwaukee—cities that had IWW groups with 30-50 members a few years ago—have not had any IWW branch meetings in several years.

Also, about half of the total membership of the IWW are members of workers' co-operatives (especially a number of small left-wing printing co-operatives). Because they are owners of their own means of production, they are not directly involved in the class fight between wage-earners and employers of wage-labour. In fact, the influence of the IWW within the North American working class today is virtually zero.

When the IWW was formed back in 1905, this was the culmination of a decade of bitter class conflict in the Western part of the U.S., especially among the miners and railway workers. Throughout the heyday of the IWW the organization always had its main base of support in the Western part of the U.S. (the Western wood, agricultural and mining workers' organizations were always the largest part of the IWW). Typical of the influential militants in the early IWW were "Big Bill" Haywood—a leader of the Western miners' union—and Gene Debs, who had gone to jail for his part in leading a national railway strike in 1894. Both Debs and Haywood were members of the left-wing of the Socialist Party. The left-wing of the Socialist party was the dominant ideological influence on the early IWW (the left-wing social-democrats had organized the IWW because the AFL was so pro-capitalist) and left-social-democracy is still a major influence in the IWW today.

IDEOLOGICAL

Today the IWW is really only a small band of radicals (of various ideologies). For the most part, individuals don't join the IWW because it has functioning shop organizations where they work, they join it because they agree with the IWW's politics. Nonetheless, the IWW defines itself as the future mass union organization of the whole working class (the "One Big Union" of all workers). Because the IWW refuses to define itself as an ideological organization, it suffers from a kind of organizational self-deception. This comes about because traditional IWW ideology refuses to recognize any role for an organization other than a mass union. In fact, the IWW's organizational concept leads to both sectarian and reformist tendencies un-



der present-day conditions in the U.S.

Sectarianism

First, how is the IWW sectarian? The IWW defines itself as the only possible instrument of workers' emancipation. Instead of defining itself in a more modest and realistic way—as merely an ideological caucus of libertarian socialist militants within the broader workers' movement, the IWW sees itself as the only "correct" organization for all workers. Because the IWW has always been defined as the "One Big Union," it has always rejected the distinction between ideological, minoritarian caucuses and class-wide, mass syndicalist organization.

We think this is the most fundamental mistake in IWW thinking. If mass revolutionary unionism emerges again in the U.S. at a future moment, it will happen because North American workers create it autonomously—it can't be cooked up in advance by small groups of radicals. In the meantime, we think libertarian militants in the labour scene should organize as an ideological caucus within the broad movement of the proletarian base.

Because of the way the IWW views itself (the only "correct" organization of the whole working class), many IWW members end up taking a sectarian posture towards the developing workers' movements and struggles at the base of the existing unions. Especially within the decade 1968-1978, there have been many militant actions by the rank-and-file of the U.S. unions in recent years—wildcat strikes, rank-and-file opposition groups, etc. Virtually every national and "international" union in the U.S. (U.S. unions are called "internationals" when they have a Canadian section) have seen the development of movements of the base in opposition to the union hierarchies. But the IWW has played no role in these movements nor has it had any significant influence on these developments. Many IWW members who belong to the existing unions abstain from union opposition movements because these opposition movements aren't in line with the traditional IWW objective of building up a totally new labor organization, the IWW.

Although the IWW is revolutionary in principle, it is in reality a reformist organization, like the Swedish SAC or the Spanish "escisionistas." This reformism has its source in the IWW's organizational concept as well as in the left-social-democratic tendency within the IWW.

Here we have to keep in mind the present social context in the U.S. The basis for a new revolutionary union movement does not exist in the U.S. at the present time. Acceptance of socialist ideas (in any form) is not widespread in the U.S., nor is the level of class consciousness as advanced as in Europe or South America. Because of this, the IWW finds itself forced to try to sell itself as "just another union." While hiding or downplaying its libertarian socialist politics, it tries to put

across to workers the idea that it is just a bit more "democratic and militant" than the established unions.

But the IWW has not been very successful in selling itself to workers as "just another union." So far as we know, the only real union the IWW has right now is an organization of less than 100 people at the University Cellar Bookstore on the campus of the University of Michigan. Except for the workers' co-operatives, this small shop organization accounts for nearly half of the active IWW membership.

This union recently signed a contract with the management which provides for dues check off (management collects the dues and gives the money to union officials), a system that helped to bureaucratize U.S. unions. Also, the contract provides for a German-style of "co-determination", with union representatives on the board of directors. For a number of IWW members (including some anarchists) this corporatist arrangement is regarded as "self-management."

The only sort of libertarian workers organization that is possible in the U.S. at this time is an organization that views itself simply as an ideologically-defined caucus within the larger labour movement. There is no basis for a new revolutionary union federation in the U.S. at this time and we feel that any future mass revolutionary union movement or widespread development of self-managed shop organization in the U.S. will, in any event, arise autonomously, out of the development of the class struggle in the U.S., and cannot be formed in advance by small groups of radicals.

What is Needed

For ideological organizations or groups of libertarian workers at the present time, we propose the following two-pronged perspective:

- (1) The development of a direct action-oriented rank-and-file movement at the base of the existing unions, based on the shop-floor and independent of the union hierarchy instead of changing the labour movement "boring from within" the union hierarchies, we pose the alternative of building an autonomous movement of the base but within the context of a union opposition; and
- (2) In those places where a more independent route is appropriate, the development of assembly unions, independent of the hierarchical unions, and mass assemblies and shop committees of elected and revocable delegates.

It is one thing to put forward the idea of a direct actionist labour movement and "One Big Union", but it is another thing altogether to claim your small organization is going to be the "One Big Union". The IWW doesn't understand this distinction. This is what gets them into both sectarian and reformist tendencies.



Anarchist Revolution and Evolutionary Ecology

H.R. Olson

Social Darwinists are all too eager to attempt to use the theory of evolution to justify monopolistic state capitalism. In this essay, I hope to show that any such attempt is doomed to backfire and that modern evolutionary theory, coupled with ethical considerations of the present human condition, offers a bioethical basis for revolutionary libertarian ideology.

In NAA, Sue Kabaleusky and Ivan Neigum have articulated the radical view that modern evolutionary theory repudiates the orthodox Social Darwinist dogma of "nature red in tooth and claw", and presents anarchism with a view of human nature incompatible with authoritarian ideologies of ANY kind.

Social Darwinism is the ideology used to justify the domination of one person, or group of persons, over another race, caste, or class. It is also used to rationalize sexism as well. In a particularly crude form, it is argued that one economic class or another is destined to be the ruling class because of the alleged superior "fitness" of that class. But *all* such notions are based on pseudo-scientific fallacies.

To explain this assertion, let me present the scientific concept of evolution, and show how it differs from ALL of the variants of Social Darwinism first expounded in the 19th century.

The Blindness of Nature

Evolution is, first of all, a non-conscious indifferent process. That is to say, there is *NO* direction or goal to the process of natural selection. *Homo sapiens* are *NOT* the product of special creation or ANY other "directive" forces. Such a view was espoused by the French Roman Catholic priest, Teilhard de Chardin, and the belief is called "orthogenesis". Orthogenetic doctrines also occurred among the dogmas of the authoritarian left and right in both the 19th and 20th centuries. The *ONLY* sense in which

one could regard orthogenetic ideologies as "true", is that it seems likely that in human history and prehistory various types of genocide, both conscious and unconscious, have been perpetrated by ruling classes. This could result in a sort of "eugenics" program which could be interpreted erroneously, as evidence for "a directive force" in human evolution.

The ideas of orthogenesis originated as a result of the long historical tradition of plant and animal breeding. Genocidal policies of rulers do not always take the crude form of mass murder. Conscious and unconscious social and economic discrimination, always dependent on government policy for its effectiveness, can drastically affect demographic factors such as infant mortality, fertility and other factors affecting reproduction by "undesirables". Political and economic repression, based on centralization of agriculture and industry by State-supported, or State-enforced, monopolization have drastic effects favoring the distribution of power into the hands of the few religious and other dogmatic belief systems can be used for mystification, to undermine the revolutionary consciousness of the people, and decrease their ability to comprehend injustice.

Herbert Spencer, for example, argued that the poor of society DESERVED to be poor because market forces rewarded those who "contribute the most to society." He conveniently ignored innumerable government interventions in even the so-called "laissez-faire" capitalist countries, not to mention the imperialist domination of other countries. In addition, his idea that the poor are somehow less "fit" is repudiated merely by the scientific definition, provided by Charles Darwin, of the concept of "fitness". The only meaningful criterion possible for evolutionary fitness is higher differential reproduction relative to others in the population. By this standard the poor are clearly *MORE* fit than the rich, even if one assumes that wealth has any direct relation to genetics, which it does not. The massive intervention of the governments in state capitalist societies, creating and maintaining monopolies, which could not otherwise exist, clearly benefit the ruling elite of any country. It should be clear by now that Social Darwinism, in ANY form, is intellectually, as well as morally, bankrupt.

Anarchy and Evolution
But how is it that modern evolutionary theory has anything to offer anarchism other than a repudiation of Social Darwinism? As scientific disciplines per se, evolutionary theory and Socio-biology have no ethical content. But the facts they present, once Social Darwinism has been repudiated, as above, provide the basis for an analysis of power structures in human societies, which considers the motives of ruling

classes in an ECOLOGICAL as well as a socio-economic perspective.

Evolutionary ecology in general and sociobiology in particular describe the "limiting conditions" for the evolution of social behavior. They describe how environments and social interactions affect the evolution of traits in animal populations. Sociobiology argues that the capacity for various behaviors in humans has been subject to the forces of selection as much as non-behavioral traits. Although somewhat clumsy, and easily misunderstood arguments, have discussed the possibility of genes and gene-complexes in "controlling" behavior in humans, the latter are not intrinsic to the study of human sociobiology. No one can deny that the brain has evolved in humans, as in other animals, from a process of genetic change. But one need not pose an oversimplified, mechanistic view of the process. It is well known that even the "simplest" traits of even purely physical characteristics are the product of complex interactions of separate genes. This phenomenon also can involve one gene regulating more than one trait. This is called "pleiotropism." What this means is that genetic regulation is unlikely to be a rigidly deterministic process, even for "simple" traits, like eye color. In the embryonic and maturational development of organisms the environment is known to directly affect gene expression in the individual, i.e., the "phenotype".

With these caveats it is possible to approach the topic of the evolution of social behavior with less trepidation. The enormous "plasticity" of human behavior is clear evidence against rigid determinism of any kind. It should be understood that the genotype of a human clearly produces a broad range of responsibility, capacity to learn myriad different social strategies has been the major focus of human social evolution.

Virtue and the World

But the key value of evolutionary theory to anarchism lies in an understanding of the nature of the relationship of the individual to society. It is clear that cooperation between individuals and social groups has been advantageous throughout evolution. But it must be realized that the nature of social cooperation is more complex than it seems. No social adaptation or organizational arrangement has infinite value. There are clearly risks, as well as benefits, in any type of social group. In the broadest terms the greatest risk is exploitation. Such exploitation necessarily involves some form of coercion on the part of one or more members of the group on others.

To understand this more fully, it is important to understand both the evolutionary advantages, and risks, of social cooperation. The new scientific discipline of sociobiology has presented a useful model of the mechanisms involved in the evolution of social behavior which can serve to elucidate the nature of social exploitation as well as cooperation.

One of the greatest challenges in evolutionary biology has been the problem of the evolution of cooperative behavior of the kind that involves risk or loss of life for the sake of others. For Social Darwinists, the simplistic answer was "survival of the fittest." But Darwin himself, as well as modern sociobiologists, realized that this was not a scientific explanation.

In order for "altruistic" behavior to evolve, the capacity for such behavior would have to be expressed in the outward phenotypic behavior of individuals. In order for a behavioral trait such as "altruism" to survive, the capacity to learn and carry out such behavior must be beneficial to the acting individual's overall reproductive success. Clearly, any genes which made it possible to risk one's well being for the sake of others would be wiped out without counterbalancing benefits to such individuals and of their kin. The kind of genes I am talking about do not *necessitate* altruistic behavior. All they need to do is enhance the learning of emotional attachment. UNDER APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS, increased dependence of young offspring for a greater time, which obviously has occurred in our evolution, is just the kind of adaptation which might enhance the learning of emotional attachments, and favor the initial evolution of "altruism". A "snowball effect" could be expected if cultural changes reinforced the genetic changes toward longer dependence of the young.

In addition to acts directly benefiting relatives, "altruistic" acts often occur between unrelated individuals. Such behavior occurs not merely within species but between individuals of totally unrelated species. It is termed "reciprocal altruism" or *mutualism* by evolutionary biologists. In humans, it involves networks of social relationships, involving social attitudes which create the feeling and thoughts often reported by heroic rescuers: "someone would have done the same for me".

This is the key to the nature of social cooperation. Individuals must be able to feel reciprocated, understood, and appreciated. Under conditions of intense social exploitation, as occur in modern society, such needs are not met. The result is that people respond cynically, since none of these behaviors are "innate" programs, independent of the environment.

The Decadence of Sexism
There is little doubt that both biological and cultural evolution have resulted in a profound capacity for social cooperation among humans. But even the most fundamental human relationship, "sexual bonding", presents serious risks of exploitation. In most mammals, including our early pre-human ancestor, the males exhibit a strong tendency to minimize their investment in their young, at the expense of females. Obviously, it is anthropomorphic, at best, to apply moral judgements on the sexual strategies of non-human mammals. But, as seems clear, certain aspects of man-woman relationships are clearly derived from these relationships of our ancestors and are no longer advantageous to anyone, in the final analysis. The rigid sexual division of labor and imposition of draconian mores on women (and men of lower status) is clearly an atavistic remnant of pre-human cultural adaptation. Even if people were justified in accepting such social conditions in the rigors of pre-history (I do not feel that they were) modern industrial society now makes it unnecessary for such conditions to continue.

The exploitation of women continues because of continued "CUL-

TURAL inertia" in which male power relationships over women are erroneously conceived by males of ruling classes as advantageous. The subordination of women to men is the result of at least two factors. First, the cultural inertia of a social milieu, inherited via behavioral rather than genetic transmission most likely, which maintains the male dominance as in pre-human ancestry. Second, the policies of ALL governments have been to reward "useful" males with control over women (and other men). A wide variety of policies of the church and the state reduce the social status of women to that of legalized chattels. The fundamental motive for this drive for power over women is a policy of implicit or explicit genocide against elements of society which reject social control imposed by ruling classes.



The Heart of the Matter

Human social ecology, therefore, must take account of the emotional and cultural mechanisms of our pre-human ancestry since social inertia clearly imposes outmoded human relationships on society. The ultimate motive for continuing such "traditions" is a powerful motive to enhance the reproductive success of the ruling class, coercively, at the expense of the producers. The arguments that such behavior is natural and beneficial is dependent on the dogma of Social Darwinist "survival of the fittest class". This depends on the unscientific idea that social adaptations occurred "for the good of the race".

Even reciprocal altruism can be used, in a twisted form, to exploit people. One of the most important factors in the establishment of a reciprocal network is the establishment of "trust". The best way for such trust to be legitimately established is for individuals involved to be unaware, at the conscious level, of the mutualistic aspect (i.e., that their self-interest is involved as an incentive for the relationships). In the initial stages, this would be absolutely necessary to prevent themselves from being perceived as "too calculating" and disrupt the reciprocity and good will of the network. Unfortunately, this "ignorance is bliss" attitude has considerable risks despite the fact that it may have been advantageous, INITIALLY, in setting up the network. An unsocialized "cheater" could easily establish a one-sided relationship with others in the reciprocal network if suspicion itself were held to be "too calculating." The church, as well as the state, could obviously play a role in mystification of the reciprocal altruist network and turn it into the dogma of "self-sacrifice" so useful to the power elite today.

The reciprocal altruist network, being twisted in this fashion, can also explain the development of the capitalist state, in all of its manifestations, including the so-called "workers' states". In association with the maintenance of a patriarchal society, *all* state capitalist societies use the "ideal" of "self-sacrifice" to spur the producers on, and intimidate them into accepting an inferior role to the ruling class.

See Evolutionary Ecology p. 10



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reading I have encountered in the
last decade. I recommend its serious
study to all interested parties and
social groups without reservation.

RED BALLOON TO ISRAEL: "PLEASE BOMB SHOREHAM!"

Secret government documents reveal that Cuban-backed students (and several outside agitators) in a self-proclaimed "Red Balloon 'Collective'" recently sent a telegram to Prime Minister Menachem Begin requesting the "Neutralization by aerial protective reaction" of all American nuclear power plants, particularly the soon-to-be completed edifice complex at Shoreham Long Island.

"You'll be saving the taxpayers \$2.5 billion by obliterating this odious draconian plutonium-eater", the telegram read. It continued: "It will also help prevent a lot of needless arrests of anti-nuke protestors in the near future. Plant a tree in Amerika and bomb a nuke! You'll be doing us a favor." For some unknown reason, they attributed the last line to Humphrey Bogart. (In a related story, a quick check of F.B.I. files turned up no reference to Mr. Bogart in relation to nuclear power, but Lauren Bacall, Bogie's partner both on and off screen for many years, told the press: "If Bogie had been alive when the first nuclear plant went on the line, he'd have stayed in Casablanca at Rick's and never have given those letters of transit to Ingrid.")

Reliable sources say Menachem Begin sputtered into the Knesset and drooled on his chin when he received the telegram. "They think we're fooling around, those radicals, they don't know Menachem Begin." To a chorus of "Sieg Heil, Mein Fuhrer," the Israeli cabinet vowed to teach the Red Balloon Collective a lesson and bomb Stony Brook University instead.

A Collective conspirator remarked: "Aha! They fell for it! Plan A is now in effect. Here's looking at you, kid."

No one seems to know what the Collective is talking about; but the entire free world is concerned lest these Cuban-backed terrorists succeed in creating international chaos. "Who are the real terrorists?", the Collective questions, "governments that bomb the hell out of people legally, well, that's what governments are supposed to be all about, no?" Asked for one final comment, the Collective drawled: "You can play it for them, you can play it for us. If Iraq can take it, we can too. Play it, Menachem, for old times sake. Play it! Play 'As Nukes Whiz By'."

The Red Balloon Collective publishes a journal of the same name on an irregular basis. Contact them c/o Polity, SUNY, Stony Brook, NY 11794, USA.

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Wajda's 'Man of Iron' Feet of Clay

By Lazarus Jones

When *Man of Iron* was awarded the top prize at this year's Cannes film festival the Kremlin immediately denounced the move as "politically motivated." In a very real sense they were right. The Polish August was high drama played out on the world stage to daily packed houses. The mass media singled out the main actors, highlighted the "stakes" involved and gave us well defined heroes to cheer and villains to boo. The Polish events, for various and often contradictory reasons, captured the imagination of the entire Western world. The Cannes judges were not immune to this phenomenon. Their decision was political, in the best sense of the word, as much as it was artistic. *Man of Iron* happens to be a very political film and it must be judged in political terms.

Unfortunately, as an anarchist, a political evaluation of this movie leads me to only one conclusion — *Man of Iron* is a lousy film. The director, Andrej Wajda, is a member of the Polish communist party's central committee and his version of the genesis of the Gdansk general strike is one that allows the party to emerge relatively unscathed. The cardboard bad-guys are all middle-level bureaucrats or disgruntled security policemen who despise "politicians" who "feel they have to be nice guys." The top party officials are always viewed from a sympathetic distance and when they deign to actually listen to the workers' legitimate grievances we can feel the "hurt" exude from the screen when the workers' delegates demand to know if they will be treated as "criminals" when things cool down.

The movie's plot revolves around a boozey reporter called Winkler who is maneuvered into preparing a hat-

chet-job on the instigator of the strike — the Man of Iron. He is initially presented as a cynical hack who casually coaches a group of "housewives" into making anti-strike public statements. Later we learn that he was the producer of a sympathetic treatment of the 1971 insurrection that earned him a jail term and soured his youthful idealism. The authorities regard him as a spineless tool whose "radical" past might be useful in gaining access to the sources necessary for the preparation of the projected piece of character assassination. It is this jaded condition of Poland's intelligentsia which forms the real theme of *Man of Iron*, but, more on that later.

Winkler has the face and figure of a punching bag and provides the perfect foil for Wajda's flyweight criticisms of the Polish regime. We see Winkler being dutifully asked to sign for everything he needs, from his car to the dossier containing all the known and fabricated dirt on his intended victim — socialism, as Lenin observed, really does seem to be just a matter of "checking and accounting."

We see Winkler confronting proletarian solidarity as he tries to cajole a female bartender into breaking Solidarity's liquor ban — "don't play your silly games with me," she militantly retorts. And, at the film's end, we see Winkler, now won over to the workers' cause, being testily told by another middle-level bureaucrat that the Gdansk Accords are worthless. "Don't worry," he assures Winkler, "they were secured under duress, they don't mean a thing." This, in exasperation Wajda is telling us, is what the hardened but basically honest party leaders have to deal with.

It is also significant that nearly all of Wajda's leading characters are drawn from the intelligentsia. Winkler, the woman TV producer, the ex-student turned TV engineer and even the "man of iron" himself is an ex-student who has rejected his potential privilege to join the workers. These are all people from Wajda's own social milieu and they share his reformist concerns. Like the KOR leaders who insinuated themselves into the workers' movement Wajda merely wants efficient management, the abolition of political controls, an end to corruption and free hierarchical mobility based on ability rather than the capacity to swallow prodigious amounts of ideological shit. In short — "social democracy."

In the movie's final scene the "man of iron" talks to the spirit of his dead father on the spot where the latter was gunned down in an earlier revolt.

Poetry

BACK TO FREEDOM

1980
and Canadian poets
lose jobs as role-models
for political views.

1980
and women are raped
in Argentine prisons
for no reason.

1980
and draft registration
is required in the U.S.
"Just for show."

1980
and the right-
has been freed.

Finally
minority rights
for one group
are protected.

Too bad it's the rich.

Brian Burch

BETRAYAL

A ten-year old
describing abstract art
to his father
in terms
that only the creators
of commercial
would appreciate.

Brian Burch

"We've won," he says, echoing Lech Walesa whose beaming mug — disconcertingly reminiscent of Stalin's — is used in selected scenes to spice up the movie. One only has to read the latest dispatches from Poland containing Walesa's current views to understand what "victory" means. The tentative commitment to some form of co-management of Polish society won by Solidarity was not a real victory for the workers. Its real beneficiaries will be the intelligentsia. And they, true to form, will turn against the workers when they have ridden them to power.

If the above assessment of *Man of Iron* seems overly negative let me say that the movie is not a total loss. The location scenes are very evocative, especially the gates of the Lenin shipyard and the meeting hall where the Gdansk Accords were signed.

BUTTERFLIES AND LEMONADE

Just before an election
is to be called
one hears the government
praising the wonders
of its reign
while the opposition
describes the beauties
of its plans.

Somehow,
no matter who wins,
the people
are given unsweetened lemonade
and the winners
pull the wings
off of butterflies.

Brian Burch

Wajda is also undeniably a film artist and some of his framing is quite good. The actual signing of the Accords, for example, intercuts between shots of the podium and almost floor level shots from the back of the hall which give a very effective delegate's-eye-view of the proceedings. Wajda even indulges in a few visual jokes at the party's expense such as his shot of the almost empty hall with a massive heroic statue of Lenin gazing forlornly out at the departing workers.

So my advice is to see this movie if you are at all interested in the Polish events. Just don't go expecting to see a "revolutionary" movie or any semblance of a radical analysis. Contrary to Mr. Wajda we don't need men of marble or iron. People, of simple flesh and blood, will do quite nicely.

NEXT EXIT

A unicorn wandered by me
while I busily pretended
not to seem concerned
by its presence.

When my boss came by
and asked me
what, if anything,
was new, I told her
that a unicorn and its rider
had stopped and that the unicorn
had asked me directions
to some saner part of the world.

Boss lady laughed at me.
You know, she said,
that unicorns don't have riders.

So I told her the truth
about the unicorn just walking by.

People shouldn't lie to their bosses.

Brian Burch



RAEL:
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Aha! They fell for it! Plan A is

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As Nukes White By "

ishes a journal of the same name on an

only, SUNY, Stony Brook, NY 11794,

It's Killing Us All

by: Arthur Miller

The owners maintain and express concern for machines. The machine is a capital investment and as such is owned. It neither lives nor feels thus it does not suffer. Unlike the machine, the worker's health and well-being is of no concern to the owners because the worker is not owned by the boss. When a worker becomes sick, is injured or dies a replacement is easily found from among the reserve army of the unemployed. Little is lost by the owners in risking workers' lives. The worker is dying to serve the boss.

I knew this. And I was tired of having no money. Finding a job at any money was hard.

Like many blind fools I began to look into trade schools. I found one that I could get in that had as its shortest course marine pipefitting. Using the course length as my criteria for choosing I began to learn my trade. I thought it was no better or worse than any other trade as I was there for the money and that's all.

After being cheated by the trade school and travelling thousands of miles chasing jobs I learned my trade. I found that once I was working as a journey-person work was much easier to find.

With four years of pipefitting I found myself working in a big shipyard out West. On the first Monday of every month we had (what was supposed to be) safety meetings. One month a man from the union came to talk to us and gave us a two minute rap on asbestos without saying what we should do about it. This was the first time I had heard anything bad about asbestos. At the time I did not think too much about it.

Some three years later I was sitting at a friend's home watching TV when a commercial came on from the government telling pipefitters who have worked on ships for over ten years to see a doctor. Then I began to read all I could about asbestos. I read where the government did research about pipefitters in a Baltimore shipyard. I found that of those with ten years service 56 percent had lung damage. I had over nine years service.

It was then that I decided to write about the source of my possible death. I came to realize that it wasn't just me or pipefitters who are affected. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's statistics estimate between four and eight million American workers may die of asbestos-related diseases. The government also says that 10 to 15 percent of all cancer deaths are due to asbestos.

Lung Cancer is the most common asbestos caused cancer. One of every

three asbestos workers dies from it. Next there is Mesothelioma. Then Gastro-Intestinal Cancer affecting the stomach, large intestine and rectum caused by the presence of asbestos fibers in the lining of the gastrointestinal tract.

Asbestos is in digested foods, liquids and fibers which are trapped in the upper part of the lungs. It is able to reach the stomach carried by mucus in the lungs to the back of the throat then swallowed. Anyone who inhales asbestos digests it. Finally it is known that asbestos causes Laryngeal (throat) cancer.

On top of these cancers, as if they aren't enough, asbestos causes a breathing disease called Asbestos-White Lung. This is a scarring of the lungs from exposure to asbestos dust. This disease is similar to silicosis which is experienced by hard rock miners and to black lung contracted by coal miners. As this scarring becomes more extensive the victim's lungs lose their flexibility and breathing becomes more difficult. As the disease develops the sufferer may develop TB, bronchitis or pneumonia, all of which may be fatal. Furthermore, failure of the right side of the heart is a common cause of death because asbestos scarred lungs cannot provide enough air.

What is Asbestos?

Asbestos is one of the most dangerous pollutants ever discovered. It is a mineral with a number of useful qualities. Being heat and corrosive resistant it is a fibrous material and very flexible. Asbestos fibers are nearly indestructible.

Asbestos is used in: aprons, arm protectors, bags, blankets, blocks, bonded pipe, braid, brake lining, cement boards, cement partitions, cement roofing, cement sewer pipe, cement tile, cloth, clothing, cords, corrugated fabrics, felt, filters, filtering materials, flooring, gaskets, hats, helmets, insulated cables, insulation, legging, lining, lumber, mats, metallic cloth, mill boards, mittens, overalls, packed corrugated metal gaskets, packing, pads and covers, panels, paper paste, pipe and boiler covers, plastic shingles, pot holders, protected metals, roof ventilators, rope, sheathing, siding, sleeving, stove lining, stove mats, table padding, tapes, textiles, thread, tubing, twine, wall-board, wicking, wire, wool and yarns.

Yes folks, not only do you have all these nice asbestos products to contaminate your body with but you may also have them with your breakfast, lunch, dinner and leisure drinking. The orange juice you drink and the vitamin tablet you take with it may very well be filtered through asbestos.

EVOLUTIONARY ECOLOGY

Continued from Pg. 7

Sociobiology thus offers an ecological perspective from which to evaluate systems of political economy in terms of the effects of statist policies on the social power of the people to control their own lives, and enhance the well-being of their children. As stated previously,

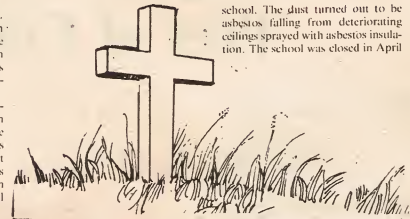
the genocidal policies of ruling classes stem from much more than sheer greed for mere economic wealth. Such motives are almost pure, compared to their true motivations. Political power is the power to commit genocide in either outright, or more subtle, forms such as monopolization of the means of production by ruling classes.

Considering the vast human population of the world, we can no longer afford, if we ever could, to tolerate this. But revolutionary out-

rage is only a NECESSARY, BUT NOT SUFFICIENT, condition for the liberation of humanity. We must be fully informed of the true nature of reactionary social forces and summon the moral courage to challenge these wherever they are seen.

The modern science of sociobiology offers true libertarian revolutionaries a means to comprehend, in detail, the mechanisms used by ALL ruling classes to maintain their power and hence the genocidally sexist policies of ALL governments in the world. Piecemeal reformist attitudes of statist "revolutionaries" toward the abolition of sexist, hierarchical social structures and their coercive policies are clearly part and parcel of such reactionary social forces which sociobiology can help identify.

But ultimately, science cannot replace the acceptance, by each of us, of the moral responsibility for direct action in the cause of human liberation. For too long, we have accepted the authority of the church and/or state as the arbiter of



Many vegetable oils, sugar and some alcoholic beverages, including 60 percent of European wines, contain asbestos. In addition, one-third of all the drugs tested at Mount Sinai Hospital in 1973 had asbestos in them.

Are you beginning to understand why one out of every four Americans will get cancer? Well here's some more bad news. There are over 3,000 products made of or with asbestos. In 1976 over 750,000 short tons were virtually poured into the environment in the U.S. alone. Asbestos is all about our environment; millions of tons of indestructible death. Since there is no safe level of asbestos in the body this means that with just one exposure to asbestos it could result in your death!

Asbestos is such a potent carcinogen that families of asbestos workers have gotten cancer through exposure to the worker's dirty clothes. Brake linings are 33 to 73 percent by weight asbestos, and in Canada, in 1970, the emission level from brake lining wear was an estimated 72 tons.



Fighting Back

Struggles have been fought in the U.S. and Canada over asbestos in schools and other public buildings. Not only do the statistics give our children a brain washing in their institutions but they also give many the means for their future death.

A London physician first discovered some of the deadly danger asbestos poses in 1900 and governments the world over have been trying to cover up the facts from the people ever since.

A librarian in Lander, Wyoming became suspicious of a layer of dust covering furniture throughout the

school. The dust turned out to be asbestos falling from deteriorating ceilings sprayed with asbestos insulation. The school was closed in April

of 1972. This discovery sparked numerous investigations of schools in the U.S. and Canada. In a place called Howell Township children were found sick from asbestos-related diseases. Six of their elementary schools were then closed.

In Harlem parents forced two schools to be shut down when they discovered asbestos flaking from the ceiling. Harlem parents demanded and got hold of a secret Board of Education report showing how at least 189 of the city's schools were contaminated. Later the estimate was revised to about 500. Likewise, organized workers in the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) in Windsor, Ontario have battled the Windsor Public School Board of Education to reveal the truth and act upon it.

Asbestos is present in nearly every store or office building. In 1975 nineteen buildings were examined and found to contain levels ranging from a thousand fibers per cubic meter of air to about one hundred thousand

fibers per cubic meter. Millions of office workers work in asbestos contaminated buildings including Madison Square Gardens, the World Trade Center and over half of the skyscrapers in the U.S. Fresh air systems often circulate right over the sprayed on asbestos picking it up then dispersing it throughout the building.

Airborne asbestos is not restricted to communities with asbestos plants or in buildings but also in the cities themselves. Of fifty U.S. cities recently sampled all had measurable levels with New York rating the highest. This contamination comes mainly from brake linings, buildings

we can again unite, confident in the knowledge that we can eliminate exploitation by awareness of its true mechanisms.

Finally, the people of the world can unite in the genuine solidarity made possible only by respect for

sprayed with asbestos insulation, or fitted with asbestos products, and from construction or demolition sites. What do we do with all these asbestos contaminated buildings? If we tear them down we will disperse more fibers into the air. The fibers, being very small will be picked up by the wind making the contamination spread very far.

Drinking water in most U.S. and Canadian cities is now contaminated too. This is because of the use of asbestos cement pipes and the entry of asbestos into water systems from other sources.

On the Job

What workers are exposed to asbestos on the job? The answer is most. The list of some includes: air filtration systems workers, asbestos cement pipe makers, cement sheet makers, cement shingle makers, rock miners, truckers, millers, weavers, paper workers, felt insulation workers, insulators, tube wrappers, loaders, crushers, spinners, asphalt makers, cork insulation workers, automobile mechanics, large bulldozers, brake and clutch lining makers, runway builders, construction workers, dam builders, drain tile makers, electrical appliance wire makers, fireproofers, garage workers, heat insulation makers, masons, oil refinery workers, paint makers, pier builders, pipefitters, furnace filters, plastic makers, post makers, pump packers, putty makers, reservoir builders, road construction workers, rubber workers, shipyard workers, sidewalk builders, silo builders, smokestack builders, sound insulation makers, stadium builders, storage tank builders, swimming pool builders, tile miners and workers, tunnel builders, vinyl asbestos tile makers, water pipe makers and welders.

As regulations have been tightened in the U.S. and Canada the bosses are exporting their death factories abroad. Workers in poor, oppressed countries like Taiwan, South Korea, Brazil and India will become the victims.

But this may change. With Bonzo Reagan as the head statist in the U.S. we will probably see regulations which now exist vanish in the paper shredder along with regulations on coal dust, lead, cotton dust and all other safety regulations which may cost the bosses money.

So wherever there is a fibrous material workers should automatically suspect asbestos. Workers should demand that a sample be sent to a reliable laboratory for identification.

Remember, There is no safe level of either asbestos, government or capitalists!

each person's autonomy. The fusion of this ethical insight with the self-knowledge provided by evolutionary biology will provide a bio-ethical basis for libertarian class analysis and revolutionary direct action.



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FIRST PUBLICATION

Anarchosyndicalist Conference Regrouping Process Begins

By Mike Harris

As many people know, mid-July in New York City is not the most comfortable place to be. Despite the uncomfortable heat and humidity a small, informal gathering of anarcho-syndicalists met to discuss a broad range of issues. These discussions were initiated by the Libertarian Workers' Group (LWG) and supported by a number of ex-ACF affiliates. The purpose of this meeting was not to create a formal organization. Rather the meeting was held to discuss issues, renew old ties and to see if there was enough agreement on basic issues to continue our discussions at a future date. Overall there seemed to be such a consensus.

Although the meeting was not a formal one — formal in the sense that all decisions were binding and a commitment to an organizational form — a fairly comprehensive agenda was submitted by the LWG. Presentation and agreement on the agenda was then followed by an introductory position paper of the LWG. This not only outlined the LWG's positions on various questions and areas of struggle, but also presented an historical analysis of the LWG and its practice, as well as that of the anarchist movement. It should be noted that this position paper was not only the product of the LWG but also based on discussions with other comrades outside the group.

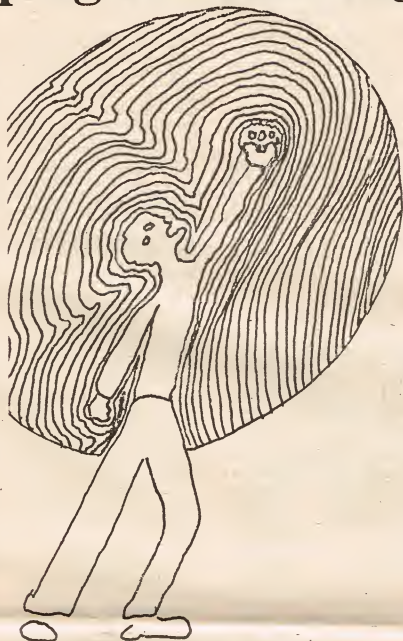
The LWG position paper helped to lay the issues on the table. It helped to facilitate discussions and was referred to quite often as a starting point for discussion. The overall tone of the position paper was generally critical of the anarchist movement for its lack of a class struggle perspective and analysis; specifically one based on a *modern* theory and practice. The document was also critical of the anarchist movement's overall isolation from both the struggles of our class in North America and internationally. Criticism was leveled at the anarchist movement's lack of prioritizing its workplace and political activities locally and continually.

Breaking with old anarchist traditions of accepted forms of organization the position paper suggested "class struggle anarchists" should question the federative form of organization. It further noted that in light of both the historical experience of the anarchist movement and the working class movement the committee form of organization might be the new organizational form that is needed. Naturally there was disagreement on this score and this is one of the questions that our movement should not only be discussing, but should also be testing in practice.

It would be an injustice to both the position paper, the participants and the discussions that followed to dwell on all points that the position paper hit on. Comprehensive as it was, the discussions that followed, in nearly all cases, hit upon the points raised in the paper. On that score we should now turn to some of the discussions.

Maturing Process

Since these discussions were informal we began with a round robin discussion of local activities. We heard reports from Canada (which seemed to be quite busy with Polish workers solidarity, industrial and feminist activities), Milwaukee and West Virginia (where they are busiest in anti-nuke activities and some anarchist propaganda), as well as additional bits of info from NYC. Although the levels of activity varied due to size and local conditions, one was able to sense that group activities were being both prioritized and taking on a clear working class



character. In some cases there was a feeling of self-confidence that, pragmatically speaking, our activities will be much more successful than in the past. In other words there is a clear recognition of the political maturity of our practice.

As anarcho-syndicalists one would naturally think the bulk of our activities would be workplace centered. While this is overall an on target assumption, the discussions also centered around the participants' "mass work". Such work has had mixed results concerning our presentation of libertarian ideas into mass struggles, such as anti-nuke, anti-draft and to a lesser extent the issue of revolution in Latin America. Limitations of our mass work also became apparent in several comrades' recognition that people respect them as individuals but not necessarily as libertarians.

There was also the recognition that there are severe limitations to mass work as libertarians. Such limitations include fears of dissolution of our politics and the inherent reformism of left groups who dominate many movements or the lack of left movement in many cases. There is also the problem of devoting too much time and energy to mass movements where we fail to recruit people into our groups and movement. On this point there was some disagreement. Some comrades felt that recruitment was not a priority, instead spreading libertarian ideas in these movements. The overall consensus was that we need to further define and analyze our goals, work and the tools we're using in these movements.

The discussions then turned to the question of the anarchist movement's relationship to the class struggle and the reformist trade unions. Before moving on to this point it should be noted that there was little discussion of the Industrial Workers of the World. A point some comrades felt should

of libertarians is to help create situations of dual power in the unions, rekindling working class self-confidence and self-organization.

Pluralist Approach

Given the objective situation of those present it was agreed that we should begin to develop conditions in our workplaces and unions similar to that above. The discussions then turned to the nature of trade union bureaucracy and dual power. On the question of bureaucracy the LWG maintained that they tend not to see the trade union bureaucracy as a class yet. It was argued that the LWG sees the interests of the bureaucracy as different from the rank and file; as an emerging class. The rise of this class is not inevitable.

The discussion of dual power was largely discussed in relationship to the LWG's activity in the needle trades. It was argued that dual power is not an organizational form, but a relationship. It was agreed, however, that dual power is a process involving many aspects, including some organizational ones.

Throughout the discussions it was clear that overall the participants identified Social Democracy as the main enemy on the left in the labor movement. It was generally agreed that if Anarcho-syndicalism is to move ahead it's imperative to defeat social democracy. In the future we need to split rank and file militants away from the social democratic leadership. It is important to point out how leftist parties are exploiting the changes in the social democratic union bureaucracies (UAW, IAM, etc) as well.

In those unions (locals or otherwise) where the Communist Party, Trotskyist or Marxist-Leninist parties maintain strong influence anarchists, it was argued, should not side with the social democrats. Anarchists must learn from the historical experience of the 1920's — in the needle trades — that when anarchists side with the social democrats in the above sort of struggle the anarchists are usually "rewarded" with leadership positions. Their "anarchist" politics soon became indistinguishable from the social democrats.

have been discussed in detail. However the overall consensus was that the IWW was irrelevant to most of our own situations. Secondly comrades either felt hostile or indifferent towards the IWW as a revolutionary union. Yet it should be noted that nearly all those in attendance at one time belonged to the IWW.

Given the LWG's long history of practical activity in the class struggle the LWG was given the floor to present their viewpoint on the role of anarcho-syndicalists in the labor movement. It has long been known in the libertarian movement that the LWG takes a "pluralistic" viewpoint towards the creation of a revolutionary labor movement. By "pluralistic" the LWG means the creation of both autonomous rank and file organizations in the trade unions, as well as the development of independent revolutionary workers' organizations. However at this point the mainstay of their activity has been in their respective unions and industry, that is the needle trades (garment, textile, fur, etc) of NYC. It should also be noted that several LWG members initiated the Needle Trades Workers' Action Committee, a rank and file committee in the needle trades.

A comrade questioned whether or not working in the reformist unions led to integration into the bureaucracy, either by taking positions of leadership or by becoming union reformers like other left groups. In response an LWG member responded that as anarchists we're duty bound to defend workers self-organization from integration into the bureaucracy and that the question of taking on leadership positions — except stewards in certain situations — was out of the question. Rather the LWG see themselves as militants and libertarians building movements "from below" and creating organic ties to our class. It was agreed that the role

As the general discussions drew to a close the meeting turned to specifics. That is what can be done as a small isolated network of Anarcho-syndicalists? From the outset the meeting was billed as an open discussion of ideas, etc. with no emphasis on organization building (or at least on the part of many). However we felt that the discussions were not complete so it was decided to publish an internal newsletter to take up where we left off. We also agreed to meet again at a future date.

Since a number of the groups attending are engaged in solidarity activities with underground Anarcho-syndicalists in Latin America it was decided to organize a formal solidarity center, the Libertarian Aid for Latin America. The L.A.L.A. is presently in the process of gathering information so it can publish a newsletter. We also plan to raise money and the Autonomy Collective shall co-ordinate fundraising in Canada. The LWG will do the same in the United States. If comrades want to send donations they can begin to now. We invite other anarchist groups to set up a Libertarian Aid for Latin America committee in their area.

What impressed this correspondent the most about the participants was that nearly all were workers engaged in practical shop-floor activity. Secondly the level of activity of several groups was rather impressive. Although this article dealt in detail with a few items it should be mentioned that we discussed other issues in one way, shape or form such as working class feminism, anti-draft, anti-nuke, Polish workers solidarity, disarmament and El Salvador.

Critically speaking the meeting was too short. Many issues were left to be discussed. As has occurred in the Anarchist Communist Federation comrades didn't come prepared with position papers which made the discussions longer and at times too generalized. Then of course there was the lack of representation of comrades from different regions and the small turnout. A clear indication that our movement is still in the embryonic stages.



INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ASSOCIATION

STELCO

Continued from Pg. 5
our strike. As well the union has invited the participation of the Hamilton Working Women's organization. Attempts are also being made to form a city-wide strike support committee.



The first result of this activity was an educational night for strikers wives and friends on September 24 followed by a women's solidarity march on September 27th which drew over 1000 sympathizers to the picket lines to bolster the strike. It gave us all an inkling of the power we can bring to bear by opening our strike up to all our allies. Only by combining our forces and energy can we win our struggle.

Also in line with this organizational consolidation of the strike has been the collection of funds from our fellow workers. They have been very generous. And we have had the chance to talk about our strike and its meaning for all of us through this activity. Even non-union plants have given us solid support. Dofasco workers, for example, had donated almost \$40,000 by October in only two collections at their gates. That's a fund-raising record for the labour movement in Canada.

One thing to be learned from this strike has to be the interplay of the class war and the increased strength of our social organization — its renewed enthusiasm and dedication. As our strike grows more militant with each battle against the employers, their police and bureaucrats, we have seen the determination and conviction of the strikers increase apace. Regardless of the outcome of this particular skirmish, for many, this strike indicates the process which is giving birth to a new society in the womb of the old.

Class and Culture Part 3:

Anatomy of a Party

By B. Newbold

There is much to be learned about the current political situation in North America by an examination of In Struggle! (IS!). A product of the 'October Crisis' in 1970, when the War Measures Act was imposed, this Canadian Marxist-Leninist organization's trajectory describes much of what is best and worst in contemporary social organization.

The Marxist-Leninist group In Struggle! (IS!) is active in the union movement and several popular organizations. Their style of public activity is not particularly sectarian though their propaganda can be a little heavy on jargon. Within mass organizations IS! argues for the development of a vanguard party to oppose the middle class. By this practice they recruit the more receptive members of cross-class alliances.

IS! maintains a study group network through which new recruits are "educated" in the views of the organization via the paper and later the classical works of Marx and Lenin. The probationers may then be invited to join.

IS! is composed mostly of students, a few intellectuals and an impressive contingent of workers. At present its membership numbers, perhaps, 500 to 750 people. It is safe to say they have not been firmly established outside Quebec. In Quebec IS! may flourish due to its tactical flexibility, but at present their membership, like those of other Leninist groups, is stagnating. Also, the circulation of their paper in Quebec is declining.

However, with political setbacks, like the referendum vote, for the chief democratic party, the PQ, we could see a split in that organization and it just might be IS! that benefits, in terms of membership, in that event because of their similar social compositions.

This would also seem to be the way IS! itself sees the situation. For example IS! attributes its development, in part, to the moderation of the PQ and its *fundamentally bourgeois character*. The IS! organization has also attracted new members making common cause with IS! against media red baiting and job discrimination against communists. This suggests that IS! could appeal to more class conscious elements in the PQ.

The basic organizational unit of IS! is the local cell. This is internally specialized and collectively subordinate to the regional centre. The regional bodies of IS! are four in number. They are the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario and the West. These regional bodies are responsible in turn to a national central committee. Between sessions of the central committee the political bureau is responsible for decision making. Charles Gagnon is the general secretary of the central committee and is responsible to the general membership congresses of IS! which "in theory" are the highest level of the organization. The last general membership congress was held in 1978.

As of March, 1980, there were 26 local cells in IS! judging by IS!'s newspaper contact list. Among other things these cells organize reader circles and distribute newspapers. Each cell must have at least three members. There are no factory cells to my knowledge.

IS! notes that its membership is fifty percent female. I think this is supportable given their May Day contingents composition at Montreal in 1980. And it is well to recall the



Old Mole

number of members in IS! who joined the organization after its participation in the fight against day-care cut-backs at Montreal in 1974. This undoubtedly would increase female membership.

UNIFORMITY

The primary criterion for membership in IS! is complete adherence to the programme of the organization. There is no right of organized tendencies in IS! once a decision has been reached by the given organizational level. But then how can the programme embrace the constant and organic flux of the thought and action of the class as a whole? The fear that the organization might sacrifice its communist character by allowing the formation of tendencies shows that even now there are large numbers of communists that do not place sufficient trust in "correct" theory, in the view that the self-knowledge of the proletariat is a knowledge of its objective situation at a given stage of historical development, and in the final goal as present dialectically in every slogan of the day when seen from a revolutionary point of view. It shows that they still frequently follow the sects by acting for the proletariat instead of letting their actions advance the real process by which class consciousness evolves — through open debate and criticism. This would seem to support the hypothesis that parties with extra-parliamentary origins are internally more oligarchic than parties with parliamentary origins. I would suggest that this elitist characteristic is based on the opposition between head and hand labour in modern society. Those in our society who administer, market and direct tend to bring their authoritarian work methods into the combinations they have joined historically. One method by which we might examine the political characteristics of IS! further is their newspaper. As IS! points out this... must become our main instrument of agitation, propaganda and organization. The newspaper is the political link

between the organizational and financial activities of IS!

IS!'s major campaigns in the paper have been against what they call the *crisis measures*. These measures include wage controls. They have also intervened in the debate on the national question in Quebec. They argued this was in line with their overall strategy of uniting the proletariat by fighting chauvinism and nationalism.

At present IS! has a weekly newspaper issued in French and English editions. Until April, 1978, it was published twice a month. In addition IS! can now afford to publish a journal on theoretical matters about every two months.

Since 1976, four years after the newspaper commenced publication, IS! has engaged in popular work to broaden the influence of their protest strategy. The newspaper has been their major means of communicating with militants in different mass organizations. Hence circulation of the newspaper has received considerable attention from the organization.

At its third congress in 1978 IS!'s central committee reported:

From September, 1974 (the newspaper's second year of publication) to September, 1976, distribution statistics remained approximately the same, with ups and downs fluctuating between 1800 and 3200 on special occasions like May Day and IWD (International Women's Day). But from September, 1976 to September, 1977 distribution doubled. The call issued by the central leadership during the spring of 1977 was not left unanswered, because from September, 1977 to March, 1978, distribution doubled again.

In other words present circulation of the newspaper could average more than ten thousand copies a weekly issue or about 520,000 copies a year. If IS! received the regular .25¢ price for each paper, present yearly revenue from the paper could be as much as \$130,000.

Distribution of the newspaper seems to be concentrated on door to door sales and shopping plazas. There does not seem to be much emphasis on selling the paper at factory gates.

While admitting that their interventions against wage controls and the after effects were largely unsuccessful between 1975 and 1979 and that their campaign for Quebec self-determination was unorganized they believe that this has led them to more clearly focus on the public sector work-force cut-backs as the key to solving the question of what tactic will unite the working class in Canada and Quebec. As they put it:

As a result of all these difficulties, we have more recently adopted a more correct attitude in our activities of agitation and propaganda. Support for the postal workers struggle and, more generally speaking, for public sector workers is well underway. The newspaper, which is distributed more extensively and systematically among the workers of this sector, reports regularly on what is at stake in the struggle. And indeed, it has been through their political work in calling for the defense of public sector workers that IS! acquired and has cultivated support as well as making enemies among market unionists who prefer to limit activities to collective bargaining.

Attacked by McDermott

It was IS!, according to Dennis McDermott, which organized calls for his resignation, with the aid of the newspaper, in the fall of 1979. Mr. McDermott according to the Spectator, said both CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees) and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) accommodate Marxist-Leninists. Mr. McDermott was referring to possible motives for his censure by the CUPE national convention in October, 1979.

During the convention The Ottawa Journal reported:

... speaker after speaker rose to denounce McDermott, on grounds that he turned his back on the postal workers, acted like a company boss and wears diamonds on his hands while other union leaders go to jail.

Soon thereafter Grace Hartman, President of CUPE, repudiated this decision of the membership claiming that it was not sponsored by the national executive of CUPE. Cliff Pilkey

concluded that the resolution against the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) President was the work of *Marxist-Leninists within labour's ranks*. Mr. Pilkey, who is the president of the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL), added at a news conference that "they are a fairly influential force, though few in number..." Mr. Pilkey was speaking just prior to the OFL general convention and only a few days after IS! had taken out an ad in The Globe and Mail with a text reading: "McDermott has reason to be upset read: Dump McDermott!"

Dump the bourgeois policy in trade unions! (signed) Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada In Struggle!"

The use of the newspaper as a vehicle whereby IS! hinders the effectiveness of the police, as in the case of the postal workers' campaign we just outlined, shows IS!'s organizational activity and its finances for that activity.

IS! continued its demands for defense of public sector workers up to the CLC convention at Winnipeg in May, 1980. And the organization deserves at least some of the credit for the CLC's new... resolve to achieve its goals as the Spectator noted, "as well as protest unions, through collective action to be spearheaded by the Congress." This is because it provided a platform for public sector labour activists and facilitated communication between unionists which has hindered the threat of the political police in so far as the federal government party did not attempt to repress CUPW in spring, 1980, negotiations. In turn this work may radicalize more members of the labour movement and bring more support to IS! However IS! must also share the blame for the short-comings of this strategy chief among which is only blaming McDermott rather than pointing out CUPW's lack of consultation with the labour movement as a whole on the specific types of solidarity required to prevent government interference.

While the newspaper activity constitutes the anatomy of IS!'s organization it is also true that it provides the means of financing the group. We have discussed newspaper sales revenues but this does not exhaust the topic of financing since the newspaper can also be used to conduct fund-raising appeals.

In August, 1978, IS! launched its first, and until 1981, only mass fund raising appeal via the newspaper. In the next two months IS! hoped to raise \$60,000 in order to allow the newspaper to stay weekly. About two weeks later \$3255.00 had been contributed to the campaign. By October 3, 1978, the campaign had rolled up donations to the tune of \$81,934.00. This success prompted an extension of the fund raising campaign. By the end of the campaign on October 31, 1978, a total of \$143,767.00 had been collected for newspaper activity.

Fund raising tactics had included a 'red lottery' in Halifax, appearances at county fairs in Quebec and fund raising forums throughout the country. In its analysis of the campaign the editors of IS! noted that around \$119,000.00 had been raised in Quebec with another \$24,000.00 coming from English Canada. The members of IS! accounted for about 40 percent of total campaign contributions. The rest came in the form of small donations, many from workers in Quebec. See Party Pg. 15



A Reply:

Trashing the Prison Movement

by: Ron Reed

When a number of anti-authoritarian prison activists received an anonymous open letter titled "A Challenge to Anarchists and the Prison Movement", we found it to be soaked with lies, distortions and slander. What could have been a constructive criticism read like it was written by the state in an effort to isolate us. Was the trashing successful? Well, Strike! reprinted it! What's going on? Our response concerns points made by the article and the bankruptcy of numerous anti-authoritarian ideas.

The Contemporary Prison Movement

The article says that the left has devoted a disproportionately large amount of time and energy to the prison movement. I only wish it were true. In fact only a small number of people and groups are active.

It then goes on to say that the prison movement is characterized by, "uncritical idolatry, slavish devotion, emotional and physical rape, and insane violence, manipulation and brutality." These are rather exaggerated experiences that myself and other anti-prison activists I know of have never had. Look maybe the author is referring to the Bay area scene some years back. I'm not familiar with it, but it's fallacious to make such outrageous generalizations.

Sure we need criticism. Shit, we need help! We readily admit that the anti-prison struggle is difficult and unpopular despite all the lip service given to it.

So we get into a vicious circle. Outsiders will avoid the prison struggle because they don't see a glorious organized prisoner resistance to work with — because such prisoner resistance is impossible without effective outside support protecting them from retaliatory action by the state.

Anti-prison work often demands emotional support to those inside — something the left, especially most men, fear. It deals with people in our own society — not in the third world — whose reality is too weird for many of us to face. So they are left in the grip of our state.

Some prisoners are real creeps, but ruling class conditioning paints all prisoners with the same brush. This conditioning says prisoners are violent beasts, but in fact, 80% are doing time for non-violent crimes. The article reinforces this myth.

Most prisoners I know are likeable people just trying to be human inside an institution of punishment. (Hmm, they're not so different from outsiders.)

The author ends up by saying, "The prison movement is a dead end. We must seek our solutions elsewhere. It's time for us on the outside to look at the society in which we work and live." This is a swift contradiction from the beginning which said, "make no mistake about it. We are absolutely committed to the abolition of all prisons."

Anti-prison work is other personal and social struggles? When you get right down to it, it's really all the same thing: people wanting to overcome the forces fucking them over,

and get some happiness, loving, respect and justice. All movements can be dead ends if they are isolated from each other.

I like the anti-prison struggle because of the impressively high quality of people involved. Surprised? Because prisons, crime and the people involved are community concerns, and as a friend says, "it's the best fight in town!"

Prisoner Assassination

The poison pen then goes to work on George Jackson and Carl Harp. Prisoners who are upfront in the struggle need all the support they can get to protect them from the state's revenge. You people at Strike! know this! You also knew they wanted Carl Harp silenced. Where is your responsibility to militant prisoners in danger? Harp wasn't the only one. At least two other militants are on a hit list in Walla Walla penitentiary alone. (More later.)

Look, the state is obviously willing to kill prison militants. Next it will be radicals outside. (Keep printing that stuff and the state will probably fund you.)

Doesn't that mean something to you, or are you just going to print more obituaries when they get wiped out too? Now that the pigs killed Harp, we'll probably witness the spectacle of you self-righteously blaming the state. What about your own collaboration in isolating him?

That the article trashes a revolutionary like George Jackson by quoting dirt from *New West* magazine should be suspect immediately. I'm sorry I don't know enough about Jackson to refute the digs, but a prisoner from Jackson's prison, San Quentin, said he was unaware that Jackson was at the centre of the prison rackets.

I'm convinced the author had no contact with Carl Harp because the 'facts' presented are straight from the state and bourgeois media. With a little investigation, which you can't be forgiven for skipping, you would have come up with the following refutation. I quote the article:

1) The only unifying bond of those who acclaimed his diary *Love and Rage* is that none have any direct contact with him... (False) or even know why he is in prison.

The intro to *Love and Rage* explains why.

2) In western Washington, he managed to totally isolate himself from most of his direct support.

But I know of people and groups there who support him. I also know of others that don't for the same reasons as the author of the trashing article.

3) (Harp) was simply a rapist with an arm-long record of two-bit violent and sexual crimes, and the Bellevue Sniper who killed one man and crippled another.

Slander of the lowest kind. Following the Bellevue sniping, the state blew their case against the real guilty party. So they grabbed Carl Harp who became involved after the sniping by hiding the gun. He pled innocent, but was quickly tried and convicted. The evidence was a positive fingerprint on the trigger. It was later proved that the state's fingerprint

expert lied, because the print could not be positively identified as Harp's.

At the same time, the rape charges were dumped on Harp. He knew the hysteria now surrounding him would never allow for an acquittal, so he pleaded insane hoping to get a reduced sentence. However, his conscience got to him and he reversed the plea to innocent. He was convicted nevertheless.

With the rape convictions, one of Washington's best attorneys handling his appeal felt he had a good chance of winning because of inconclusive sperm tests; the physical events of the rapes seem unlikely; divergent testimony by the two victims; one of the victims informally recanted her version, but before a legal declaration could be obtained, changed her mind (under pressure?) and the hysteria surrounding the trial precluded an unbiased verdict.

Also Harp got another ten years for possessing a weapon. It was an antique gun that his parole officer told the judge she gave him permission to have. Harp received a total of ninety years to life.

Before those four convictions, Harp had never been implicated in a sexual crime. The frame-up outraged

Carl Harp, turning him from a wild kid to a revolutionary prisoner.

4) In an interview, Harp admitted to having raped the two women, saying "I'm not sorry I did it, but I'm sorry it occurred."

People from Seattle's Left Bank Bookstore checked this interview out and found the quote didn't refer to the supposed rapes at all.

5) The idea of Carl Harp as an authentic anarchist hero... is an idea that makes us physically ill, and makes us doubt the sanity of some of our comrades. This of course is a loaded statement that can't be directly argued. I'll let the rebel history of Carl Harp stand for itself to explain why I think he was one of the few revolutionaries today in America who deserved the label. As for doubting our sanity, well you're on the right track. I always suspected Harp was insane until he finally admitted it to me. Anyone who resisted to the very end with a vivacious spirit of love and rage under eight years of maximum security torture without burning out or cracking up isn't too normal. I myself strive towards insanity because it's the best condition for revolutionary spontaneity.

You've read this far, so how about exercising some support to help save these brothers. As a minimum, write letters demanding: 1) the immediate transfer of Robert Shane Green 628148 out of Walla Walla Pen to a federal prison. 2) The effective protection of Benny Washington and other prisoners threatened by prison staff. 3) The removal of all guards associated with a hit squad, including those originally fired in 1979 for brutalizing Carl Harp who were reinstated. 4) An immediate and complete investigation into the death of Carl Harp and the role of the guards inside the pen.

Send the letters to Amos Reed, Director of Adult Corrections, and to Gov. John Spellman. Both are at Olympia, Wa. 98504. Also, write (Walla Walla) Supt. Kastema, P.O. Box 520, Walla Walla, Wa. 99362 USA.

Remember, the state is building more prisons. If you want to find out about resistance to the (in) justice system, write the publications below. But don't leave us alone to fight. We don't need cheerleaders nearly as much as we need allies.

Prison News Contact

Anarchist Black Dragon C/O CP 2, succ. La Cité Montreal, Quebec H2W 2M9 Canada

Sub. Cost

Prisoners - Free Outsiders - Contribution

Odyssey Newsletter Milliaven Penitentiary Box 180 Bath, Ont. KOH 1G0 Canada

\$4 for six issues

Bulldozer

Box 5052, Stn. 'A' Toronto, Ont., Canada M5W 1A7

Tightwire

C/O Kingston Prison for Women Box 515 Kingston, Ont., Canada K7L 4W7

Florida Clearing House on Criminal Justice Newsletter

222 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32301 USA

Prisoners - Free Outsiders - Contribution

Unknown

Florida Prisoners - Free Outsiders - Contribution

Only

HAPOTOC (Help a Prisoner Outlaw Torture Organizing Committee)

P.O. Box 10638, 1001 EP Amsterdam Holland.

This article is endorsed by:

The Bulldozer Collective United Family and Friends of Prisoners Box 22094 Seattle, Wa. 98122 Prisoners' Rights Group 3965 Pandora St. Burnaby, B.C.



Carl Harp: Prison militant and libertarian revolutionary.

New from Charlatan Stew

We'd like everyone to know that Charlatan Stew has moved to Seattle. Our new address is P.O. Box 31461, Wallingford Station, Seattle, Wa. 98103. We are currently circulating "Origin and Function of the Party Form (1962)", a pamphlet by Jacques Camatte and Gianni Colla (\$1.00), bumper stickers saying "Made By Modern Slaves", "Warning: This Society is Dangerous to Your

Health and Happiness", and "This Year's Election Choice: Constipation or Diarrhea" (free except for 25¢ postage). We are also publishing, together with Left Bank Publishing Project, a 1982 Anti-Authoritarian Calendar (\$4.00 each, 50¢ off for five or more copies plus 50¢ postage). Anyone who is interested in receiving any of these things and/or being on our mailing list should drop us a line.

Continued from Pg. 1

usual. In an attempt to silence Carl the state did not try him for the hostage seizure as he repeatedly demanded, instead awarding him \$7,000 for putting him in segrega-

tion over a year. He had recently succeeded in transferring back to Walla Walla and was preparing new initiatives when he was cut down presumably to inhibit the growing campaign against rigid and inflexible penal conditions. But you can't

kill a cause by callously snuffing out one member of it. The state's murder of Carl Harp must only strengthen the resolve of the movement to fight back!

More Letters More Letters More

SLANDEROUS

Dear Strike!

We consider your decision to publish the slanderous attacks on Carl Harp in your last issue's article on prisoners to be reprehensible, particularly in light of his subsequent death, but we won't press the matter since we assume you are looking for a well-deserved hole to crawl into.

It may interest you to know that we declined to print the article since the authors insisted on retaining the material about Harp which was obviously taken from police and media reports.

Why don't you consider making your next name change to "Out of Business"?

THE FIFTH ESTATE STAFF



PATCO

Continued from Pg. 16

way on these issues, the union held a 4 day job action. As can be expected, the government's reaction was harsh and swift. A federal judge fined PATCO \$100,000.

And so for the PATCO strikers their struggle is not a new one. After 11 years of presenting demands, going to mediation, being told to be patient, voting for Reagan in '80 because he wrote a letter in support of the air controllers' cause, and finally holding 38 meetings with government officials prior to the strike, the controllers finally said "ENOUGH!" A 20 to 1 vote in favor of striking is a clear indication of the controllers' anger.

RIGHT TO STRIKE

Unlike Canadian federal workers, U.S. federal employees do not have the right to strike. And, as noted earlier, the air controllers are federal employees.

On August 6, President Reagan, under a 1971 Supreme Court decision, fired 12,000 striking air traffic controllers. As simple as that, 12,000 workers were fired who were attempting to bring to a just end to what turned out to be an 11 year struggle.

This brings to light a larger question. And that is can and will workers let the government use anti-worker laws to bust their struggles? With a recently expanding public sector, this question is that much more relevant.

What the use of such anti-worker laws mean for the striking controllers is that the government has the "right" to jail and secretly indict union reps, freeze \$3.5 million in strike funds, levy fines of more than \$10 million, fire 12,000 workers and decertify PATCO out of existence.

For 34 years U.S. workers have been saddled with anti-worker laws. Laws that affect both the public and private sector. In 1947 the infamous Taft-Hartley Act was passed, and naturally the labor bureaucracy did little to fight it. Taft-Hartley denied federal workers the right to strike. In 1955, to add insult to injury, Congress passed additional measures that are now being used to break the will and determination of the strikers. These laws not only outlaw strikes, there are also provisions for anti-strike injunctions, giving the courts the power to fine. It established a 60 day cooling off period during which strikes may not be declared. It outlaws mass picketing, prohibits secondary boycotts and encourages the passage of state anti-union "right-to-work" laws.

In the true spirit of class collabor-

BRIXTON CALLING

Dear Strike!

By the time I send this, I'll have enclosed the cost of a subscription. I can find fault with that paper, but just let me congratulate you on making eleven issues, finding very good news stories and not getting tied-up in useless 'dialogue' with trots.

I've just read the tomato article in No. 10 and advise you that EEC regulations on plant varieties may be worse. They have already outlawed at least one variety that is disease resistant (Bedford onion) and another that has no near alternative (Royal Burgundy french beans). The EEC is so bad that nearly all of us have some score to hate it.

But enough of that, I'd like to offer some info for publication: I live in Brixton and it wasn't too nice being a few minutes from the scene of the riots. Also we know something much more violent is in the cards — the riots took days to vent the immediate bad feelings. Now the police are busy firing more community resentment. Their behavior has worsened while Judge Scarman is conducting an enquiry into 'police-

ing'.

This enquiry is gradually bringing out the facts... Police armed with pick-ax handles, incompetent use of police dogs and crass stupidity on the part of supervisory policemen.

But your article is way off mark on many counts. The 'black' school teacher, Blair Peach, was of part-Maori extraction and probably murdered by a police walkie-talkie radio!

Definitely Brixton police don't have 'armoured trucks'... just coaches, minibuses, vans and saloon cars. Some of these carry police heavies, the thugs of the special patrol group, but only rarely are they attacked so armour-plate would be a luxury.

Further you make no mention of one of the aims of the riots. True, harassment, etc., was the cause, but one failure of the riots was to burn down the cop-shop. On the Saturday night — the most violent time — the police were shaking several deep around the main police station (proudly displaying the slogan 'Help Fight Crime').

Two pubs were burnt to the ground, one was anti-gay. Many shops were looted and/or burned. Police vehicles were overturned and set alight.

Police claim the riots were or-

chestrated by 'outside agitators'. They still haven't substantiated this idea, although thousands of cops came from outside.

Riots have since occurred in other parts of the country. Recently trouble was stirred by fascist youths

in an Asian community. But there's no sign of any change in police attitudes unless it's less tolerance and imagination. Fraternally, J. Turner London, England



standing up and directly confronting the state the air controllers are defending the rights of all U.S. workers to strike. And as workers, myself and every other worker knows that our only weapon is the strike. However, the bottom line is not a question of legal rights, but of class power.

SOLIDARITY FOREVER?

Despite the \$300,000 Family Fund set up by the AFL-CIO, despite the call for solidarity by Federation head Lane Kirkland and countless other union bureaucrats, real solidarity has not been shown.

In spite of the fact that organized labor "leaders" are calling Reagan's actions an open attack on the labor movement, the leadership of those unions directly servicing the airports and airlines have refused to call their membership out on strike. Only through a general strike in the air service industry will the controllers win their strike. Financial support is only good to a point, when PATCO's picket line are crossed day in and day out. And when the air lines planes are still being serviced, the strike can only be partially effective.

It unfortunately seems that solidarity of this sort has never been an appealing tactic for the labor bureaucracy. It certainly says a lot about the U.S. labor bureaucracy when it was the Canadians and the Europeans who struck — limited as it was — in solidarity with the striking controllers. And to top it off, Lane Kirkland sanctioned scabbing in a recent letter to all AFL-CIO affiliates. "I personally think," he wrote, "that the trade union movement should not undertake any-

thing that would represent punishing, injuring or inconveniencing the public at large for the sins or the transgressions of the Reagan administration."

Who would a general strike inconvenience? Now with the summer vacation season over the only inconvenience would be to the business community. Such a strike might also inconvenience the labor bureaucrats as well. The power that would be unleashed would be incredible. The mighty weight of a general strike might give the rank and file ideas for the future. That is, to use the general strike each time one segment of the industry doesn't attain a decent contract. And, naturally, such rank and file actions would make the bureaucracy "unreasonable" in the eyes of management.

A perfect example of this is the International Association of Machinists (I.A.M.) bureaucracy, whose members comprise all airline mechanics and a good percentage of airport service workers. The San Jose, California Local of the I.A.M. adopted a resolution asking president William Wimpfinger — a man who calls himself a "socialist" — to call for shutting down major airports for 48 hours. A real socialist would not hesitate to call a solidarity strike, however Wimpfinger never responded.

BUREAUCRATIC CHEAP TALK

Ironically enough, for the past year U.S. workers have heard nothing but praise by the union bureaucrats for Poland's Solidarity union. Some bureaucrats have even made the analogy that PATCO's struggle is similar to Solidarity's. That is, a workers' struggle against the state. And to a large extent the bureaucrats' analogy is on target. However it's quite ludicrous for the bureaucrats to make such statements. Poland's Solidarity was born out of a strike movement. A workers movement capable of declaring a general strike that would be supported by over 10 million workers.

The simple fact is when it's not in the bureaucrats' self-interests, such as Poland, they can hail all the strikes they want. But when it comes to the good old U.S.A., knock, knock, no one is home.

WORKERS' POWER

Clearly this strike could be immediately won if an industry-wide general strike were called. Barring the support of the bureaucrats, it is up to

the rank and file to take the initiative. Not only is this strike a life and death struggle for a small segment of the workforce, it also marks a new phase in the class struggle. A phase in which the capitalist state has openly declared war on the workers.

Notwithstanding the general struggle of the air controllers there are positive aspects of this strike which should point out to the state offensive against the workers to teach many PATCO strikers that workers, the state, politicians and bosses have two sets of interests. If anything the state can claim credit for developing class consciousness amongst a good many strikers.

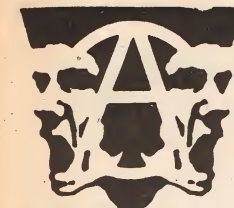
Secondly, this strike has shown many PATCO members that their support for political parties and politicians means little. Even with PATCO's support for Reagan, Reagan has launched a vicious struggle against them. However before we credit the Democrats remember it was during the Democratic administration of Harry Truman that the Taft-Hartley Act was passed. Likewise the Democratic "friends of labor" in Congress and on the state and even the local level have either taken a hands off attitude or else back Reagan's actions 100%.

Clearly then, we see little use in workers supporting either capitalist party, nor do we support the idea of a labor party. The latter being controlled by the same bureaucrats who refuse to call their membership out on a solidarity strike with PATCO. What should be clear to any rank and file worker is the potential economic power that we can exert as a class. The power to not only stop services and production, but the power to also smash anti-worker laws. A clear self-recognition of this power and the revolutionary potential of it is important if the working class is to abolish capitalism and the state.

It is my opinion that the air controllers' strike may be a small step in that direction.



"H, THERE, Q DUNLEY DUNBAR, FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION. HAVE YOU EVER CONSIDERED A CAREER AS AN AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLER?"



Libertarian Notes

STILL HAILING RED ARMY IN AFGHANISTAN?

As the second anniversary of the December, 1979, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan approaches it is clear that the expected "easy victory" has become a very messy little war. What was intended as a "mopping up" operation has evolved into a costly guerrilla war which has cost the lives of 10,000 Soviet soldiers. As it turns out even the invasion itself, which looked so impressive on the 6 o'clock news, was mismanaged from the start.

The ubiquitous Soviet tank, which had proved its usefulness in crushing dissent in Eastern Europe, proved to be something of a liability in a mountainous nation with a practically non-existent road system. So after driving them up and down the main drags of various Afghan cities they were shipped back to the socialist motherland in exchange for helicopter gunships which are much more efficient at killing Afghan peasants. The Central Asian troops, who formed the core of the initial invasion force, were found to be politically unreliable and they too were shipped back in exchange for ethnic Russian troops.

So what do the Russians have to show for their 22 month sojourn? The answer is — less than nothing. Those Marxist ideologues who claim that the invasion was objectively "good for the people" are to be complimented on their total disregard of the empirical evidence. The Russians manage to maintain a tenuous day-time grip on the major urban centres but, in the countryside of this overwhelmingly rural nation, the bride-price, the veil and ignorance remain firmly entrenched. The indigenous socialist elements, few as they were in Afghanistan, have been crushed beneath the boots of the Red Army. In its footsteps a rabidly anti-socialist nationalism has arisen that will make the re-emergence of a socialist current in Afghanistan a near impossibility for at least a generation. Hail Red Army.

DEM' BONES, DEM' BONES DEM' DRY BONES

The traffic in dead heroes, always a favourite activity of the world's many and various states, took a rather bizarre turn recently when the Costa Rican government asked Nicaragua to return the earthly remains of Juan Santamaria to his native soil. Santamaria had died a hero's death in 1856 battling U.S. mercenaries who had seized control of Nicaragua and, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of his birth, the Costa Ricans decided it would be nice to put him on display at the museum named in his honour.

The Nicaraguans, anxious to build good relations with their neighbors, dutifully exhumed a selection of bones from the mass grave where Santamaria and 137 of his comrades had been buried and ceremoniously dispatched them to Costa Rica. Unfortunately, a panel of Costa Rican archeologists concluded that the bones were in fact those of common farm animals. The embarrassed authorities tried to cover up the affair but the news leaked out scandalizing public opinion.

The Nicaraguan government huffily demanded the return of the disputed bones and the Costa Ricans quickly agreed, even going so far as to provide an honour guard to escort them to the airport, just to show there were no hard feelings. The local population, however, were not so obliging and when this odd cortege, with the Nicaraguan ambassador in tow, pulled up to the museum to retrieve the bones it was confronted by a large and vocal crowd which moped like cows as the bones were carried out.

The Nicaraguans still insist that the bones are indeed those of Mr. Santamaria and the enraged ambassador later declared that the whole affair was "a maneuver by Costa Rican rightists to cause a confrontation and destabilize our government." The box of bones, covered with flowers and a Nicaraguan flag, was flown back to Managua where it lay in state before being

re-interred in the churchyard from which the bones had been taken.

YOU'RE FIRED — COMRADE

When China recently attempted to lure Taiwan back into the mainland's bosom the Taiwanese leadership retorted that such a move could only take place if the Peking clique "gave up the communist system." Well, they might not have long to wait. One of the more endearing traits of Maoist China was the attempt to organize production without resorting to the Taylorist techniques of "scientific management" so beloved by their comrades to the north. That situation, however, is rapidly changing. The concept of the "iron rice bowl," a metaphor for a lifetime job guarantee, has been replaced by the "porcelain rice bowl" and porcelain, unlike iron, has a habit of breaking.

The "iron rice bowl," once hailed as proof positive of the superiority of Chinese socialism, is now to be relegated to a rapidly growing scrap-heap that already includes people's power and workers' revolution. Factory managers will now be able to officially fire "malcontents, laggards and chronic truants." Flinging them in to the now officially recognized reserve army of the unemployed estimated to number between 10 to 20 million.

China's drift towards the full restoration of a market economy is now picking up such a head of steam that we shouldn't be too surprised if Taiwan makes the next re-unification overture. Keep up the good work — comrades.

KONSPIRACY KAPERS

"Conspiracy against the state" is a familiar charge. In Greece, England and West Germany such charges are often leveled at anarchists and extra-parliamentary leftists. Now it seems the Italian government is putting it to use: Francesco Piperno, currently held in custody in Canada pending extradition hearings to Italy, is accused by the Italian government with "armed insurrection against the powers of the state". Piperno who was in Canada on holidays lives in France where he works as a physicist. He was cleared two years ago of charges relating to terrorist incidents.

On April 7, 1979, homes throughout Italy were raided and 78 academics, artists, journalists all associated with left-wing politics were arrested. Their cases together with Piperno's who was one of the 78 charged and whom the French government has refused to extradite, is slated to begin in 1982 and is expected to last up to two years.

WIRED

A South Carolina bible school teacher has an unusual way of bringing home the word of god.

Young students must sit on a stool which has been wired and as the bible is read aloud, electric shocks are given to the children.

PARTY

Continued from Pg. 12

What this financing and the organization of IS! seem to point out most clearly is that IS! is weak nationally because it is relatively strong in Quebec. This influence in Quebec stems from the development of the independence movement there. And IS! is also bound by constraints similar to those of the independence movement. Because this group does not fight for the unity of the pan-Canadian working class by dividing the bourgeoisie through a theoretical argument for independence and socialism in the context of a practical attempt to end union sectoralism by syndicalist means it is confined to Quebec. The question really becomes why didn't socialists in Quebec orient more positively to the independence movement and vice versa. This can't be explained by facile personal slander or sly intimations of cowardice on the part of IS! Rather than these answers, the motivation for this anti-independence streak in the organization has to be sought in the economic basis of IS! Here a tentative answer can be found for the hesitations of the group — their strata's position within the working class as a whole. Whereas the class of social labour has all the characteristics of the commodity, including the uncertainties of day-to-day movements of the market, certain groups within the class lead an existence which appears more stable since it includes a well defined professionalism, responsibility as well as a sense of duty and also the abstract possibility of an individual's elevating her or him-self into the ruling class. By such means a "status-quoism" is created that is calculated to inhibit effectively the growth of a class consciousness.



This applies nowhere more than to the ranks of today's left who, by and large, have been drawn from the civil service and the intelligentsia and rely on that sector for funding. That is why in IS! we saw a campaign as contradictory as their petition to the Liberal Party calling for them to make the nations and languages of Quebec and Canada equal instead of calling for independence and socialism through working class activity. That petition campaign ignored the fact that any political equality is predicated on the class and property relationships which bind the production process and hence the class meanings attached to independence. These IS! campaigns of resistance will not politically defeat the bourgeoisie. That objective requires a creative contestation by the working class against the state apparatuses.

We can examine how this is effectively brought about by reviewing the function of a revolutionary organization.

The task of a revolutionary organization is to produce more revolutionaries. The development of more revolutionaries is fostered by interfering with the police. We find such a tendency already at work in strikes. So how can we encourage them and generalize the fight against capital rather than merely resist it? The present evolution of these unions inhibits the federation of workers as a class. It splits them up according to technical, occupational and professional affiliations. Since the unions are grouped by industrial location they may be separated from the workplaces right next door because one produces steel and another provides

health care. This swamp could be opposed by recovering unions for their members. In Canada this struggle commonly takes the initial form of a fight for independent national unions and local autonomy from the international union offices. The best way for revolutionaries to make this struggle succeed is by encouraging strikes through acts of confrontation with the bosses at work. Confrontation tactics such as playfulness, health and safety campaigns energize the class war, get business unions to pack their bags and head for cover, maintain a firm wage floor, depress

the rate of profit and encourage the abolition of wage-labour creating a material basis for shortening the labour-day by intensifying the self-organization of the working class. This last feature of the class struggle is especially decisive insofar as more newly proletarianized layers are concerned because the key to enrolling them in fighting unions is the concentration of capital through strike action which will ensure that the workers no longer resist capital's manifold incursions so much as they finish its historical task and render it as obsolete as the horse and buggy.

Estimated Yearly Average Distribution & Revenue For the In Struggle! Newspaper 1974-1978

Period	Revenue	Distribution
Sept., 1974 to Sept., 1975	\$8,125.00	65,000
Sept., 1975 to Sept., 1976	\$8,125.00	65,000
Sept., 1976 to Sept., 1977	\$16,250.00	130,000
Sept., 1977 to March, 1978	\$16,250.00	130,000

Source: In Struggle! "Third Congress", p. 84.



We're on our way to the monthly STRIKE! To help us get there subscribe. Subscription rates are \$5.00 for individuals for one year (twelve issues) and \$10.00 for libraries, institutions and funded organizations. Overseas subscribers \$7.00. STRIKE! is sent free to prisoners. Make cheques payable to STRIKE! and send them to our new address: P.O. Box 284, Main Station, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada, L2R 6T7.

Patco Strike

By: Mike Harris

"Strike! Strike! Strike!" chanted 3,000 striking air traffic controllers at New York City's Labor Day parade. And with a similar militancy so did 200,000 New York City workers chant in the air controllers' support.

Since August 3, U.S. controllers—members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization—have been on strike because their employer, the United States government, has failed to come to terms with the unions' demands for a decent contract. Unlike other contracts that have expired in both the public and private sector, PATCO's demands transcended economic issues. The strike was originally over health and safety and economic issues. Now it has also become one over the right to strike.

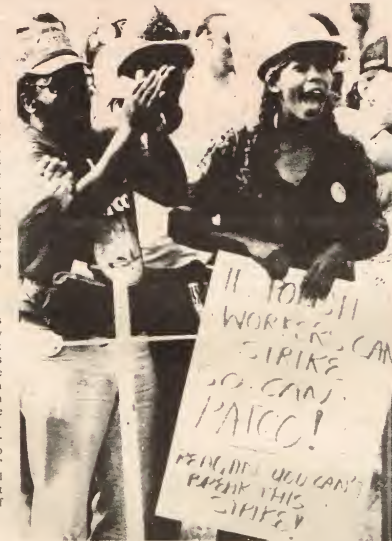
SHORTER WORK WEEK

One of PATCO's central demands is for the 32 hour week. As it now stands U.S. air traffic controllers work a 40 hour week. Whereas controllers in other countries, recognizing the effects of stress caused by working a 40 hour week, work anywhere from 30 to 35 hours a week. In Canada, the controllers work 35 hours a week. Interestingly enough, PATCO's counterparts work less time than they do even though "controllers in the U.S." according to Gregory Pardlo of Local 283, Newark International Airport (N.J.), "work five times the traffic of any other country."

STRESS

The struggle for a shorter work week is even more important when one considers the cause for this demand. Because of the stress air controllers' suffer medical disorders at a much higher rate than the average worker. It is reported that 9 out of 10 controllers don't last to retirement.

"According to the Federal Aviation Administration's own figures, 89% of the controllers that have left air traffic in the last 3 years have done so under medical disability. The concept of the controllers going 25 years in a high density vicinity is ludicrous..." Pardlo said.



Imagine having to listen in your headset to a pilot in one ear, someone else talking in the other, and, writing and talking at the same time. Strange as it may seem that was the daily routine of countless controllers. As well as co-ordinating the flight pattern and landing of 15 to 20 aircraft at one time.

What this all added up too for the controllers was an average of 7 years on the job before he/she "burnt out". This "burn out" is not only mental but physical as well. Air controllers' suffer from anything from peptic ulcers to heart failure. Some families were

even destroyed due to working rotating shifts.

CONTINUATION

The current strike is a continuation of earlier struggles to win the shorter work week, better health and safety conditions and modern equipment. In 1970 PATCO threatened to strike for the reasons listed above. However, the union backed down after government threats and an anti-strike injunction was ordered.

In 1978, determined to make head-
See Patco Pg. 14

U.S. Postal Pact

By: Mike Harris

With only slight waves made the bulk of U.S. postal workers have ratified a new three year contract.

A strike was avoided when the union negotiators extended the old contract past the 12:01 a.m. deadline on July 21, 1981. They had said earlier that they would extend the contract for only a few hours if there was some progression in the talks.

They had been mandated by their conventions to abide by a no contract-no work and to strike over the issue of an uncapped Cost of Living Adjustment. The uncapped COLA was won. Amnesty for the remaining 100 or so fired postal workers (from the 1978 job action) was also to be an issue. Unfortunately this was not the case.

The ratified contract falls short of what postal workers need or what the original demands were.

Contractually speaking the worst part of the agreement is the productivity clause. This trades jobs for money and pits older workers against younger workers.

According to the formula worked out in the contract the agreement would give postal workers salary increases of \$900 over three years plus bonuses totalling \$1,200. Interestingly enough, in an effort to buy postal workers off, the U.S. Postal Service offered a one time \$150 bonus for ratifying the agree-

According to *Business Week*, American Postal Workers Union and National Alliance of Letter Carriers presidents Moe Biller and Vince Sombrotto respectively, along with Post Master General Bolger, realize that increased productivity is necessary to preserve the Postal Service from private enterprise and thus save jobs.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Over 74,000 jobs have been lost to increased productivity and 60,000 more are on the line as new electronic automation comes in.

Original union demands for the 35 hour week; double time for overtime, an all regular work force, amnesty for fired postal workers and an extension of the no-layoff clause were absolutely essential for preserving the jobs of union workers.

In the wake of what has happened to the PATCO strikers the union bureaucrats did not want to press the issues of amnesty or maternity or paternity leave or bereavement leave. A clause allowing a worker to refuse an unsafe job was not won or strongly pressed for.

In other words benefits and amnesty were traded for money. Ah yes, money is always the cure for the workers' problems!

Given the conditions the bureaucrats had to negotiate under it should be no surprise that the present contract is substandard. A lot

of workers refused to recapture the spirit of 1970 (when there was a national job-action). Certainly the firing of the PATCO workers also had a lot to do with the loss of combativeness on the part of the rank-and-file. And of course there is the problem that there was no network or organization of rank-and-file postal workers to press for further non-economic demands.

The existing rank-and-file organization at the Jersey City Bulk Mailing Center has, unfortunately, become a "loyal opposition" to the APWU bureaucracy. Rather than recapturing the spirit of '70 and '78 the Postal Workers Defence Committee has merely sat on its hands. Even though the PWDC was the militant voice of the fired postal workers they refused to press the issue this time around.

However, a strike could have been won. It doesn't take 100% support to win a strike if you're solid in key areas. New York City, Chicago, Detroit, the Bay Area and Miami were known to be more or less solid. It is exactly in these areas where a strike could have forced the hands of the U.S. Postal Service. Yet the rank-and-file organization was not there and so no job-actions were taken. It will be another three years of alienation, speed-ups and harassment for postal workers.

★★★★★★★★

Labour Pains

FALSE ASSURANCES

When Chrysler workers voted by a narrow margin to accept wage and benefit cuts earlier this year they did so believing UAW assurances that this would save their jobs. For 1200 workers at Chrysler's engine plant in Windsor, Ontario this must now appear to be a cruel hoax as they have just been indefinitely laid off.

These newly laid off Chrysler workers are joining 800 others from the same plant who have never been recalled. The worst of it is that most of these workers cannot qualify for unemployment insurance because they had not been back on the job long enough. With Supplementary Unemployment Benefit funds depleted long ago the choice becomes either welfare or trying your luck somewhere else in the country.

Since the austerity program at Chrysler took effect its employees have fallen behind other autoworkers employed by the Big Three by almost \$3.00 an hour in wages and benefits. By the time the present union contract expires this figure will have grown considerably higher thereby fueling demands by GM and Ford for a new contract to close the gap.

All the way around this belt tightening is proving disastrous for autoworkers everywhere of whom nearly 200,000 remain on layoff. With the beginning of negotiations for the next contract not far off autoworkers must demand gains for Chrysler workers to close the gap then zero in on cuts in the work week and other historic gains.

HISTORY REDISCOVERED?

The 1,700 employees of the Ford Motor Co. in Holland have a different approach to plant closings. They are restoring that once much practiced American method—the sitdown. While they occupy the plant in Amsterdam, the workers of other European unions assured them support by shutting off any deliveries or parts to the Ford plant in the Netherlands.

The sitdown type of strike originally came from some countries abroad, notably France. Its application on a mass scale in the U.S. was so powerful that it sparked the historic organizing sweep by the CIO during the 1930's. The most celebrated sitdown took place in GM's Fischer No. 1 plant in Flint, Mich., in defiance of injunctions, vigilante mobs and police ultimatums to vacate the plant. In the end the sitdown proved to be an effective weapon, the workers' won their demands.

The sitdown strike has been almost forgotten here in the U.S. Trade unions have become "respectable" (with the AFL leading the way since the last century) and have submitted to rules that a plant or office is private property, absolutely untouchable under capitalism. Meanwhile, plant shutdowns continue. Still the officialdom of American labor sits on its hands. As far as this worker is concerned, it is high time that American labor rediscovered its history, a history filled with scores of victories won only through the use of direct action.

SALARY HIKES FOR IBT BUREAUCRATS

The delegates to the recent convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) know as well as anyone that the cost of living is, and has been, rising steadily. So they voted their new President, Roy Lee Williams, a \$68,750 raise bringing his annual salary to \$225,000. They also voted Secretary-Treasurer Ray Scholesing a raise — \$75,000 — bringing his annual salary to \$200,000. And the union's international vice presidents were given annual pay increases of \$15,000 each. The convention also acted to make sure that none of the union hierarchy falls behind in the continuing race with the cost of living by guaranteeing them a cost-of-living adjustment every July 1 (starting in 1982) equal to each percentage rise in the Consumer Price Index. In addition, top officers "may receive additional compensation and expenses as determined by the general president."

E.N.A. BEING RENEGOTIATED

Now that the district director elections are over in the United Steel Workers union, the industry and the top union brass are starting to renegotiate the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement. It was first signed in 1973 by former union president I. W. Abel. It is a monument in class collaboration.

Industry spokespersons say they want to change three things in the E.N.A. 1) They think the guaranteed 3% a year wage hike is too high. 2) The cost-of-living allowance is inflationary. 3) There is too much room within the agreement for local issue strikes by individual union locals. They don't want steel workers thinking about strikes, much less conducting any.

Of course the industry wants to keep the part about prohibiting industry-wide strikes. They love that.

The 1974, '77 & '80 basic steel contracts were negotiated under the E.N.A. Steel workers are not allowed to vote on the contract either.

USWA President Lloyd McBride said about the E.N.A., "Anybody who thinks the USW is going to make sacrifices out of balance with the sacrifices made by everyone else is wrong."

In the context of the Wall Street Journal article where Dr. McBride is quoted, this sounds a little ominous. According to the big business newspaper, "The USW wouldn't settle for much less than the United Auto Workers get in their contract negotiations in 1982."

With Ford and General Motors demanding what Chrysler got, things do not look good.

IVY LEAGUE FOR MCBRIDE

The June issue of *Stealor* has a picture and short article under the head, "It's Dr. McBride Now." The union bureaucrat was awarded an honorary doctorate degree from the University of Missouri. The citation included: "Your keen understanding of our free enterprise system and your rational and creative approach to collective bargaining have helped to foster a working rapport between labor and management..." Need we say more?